

HOWARD KIMELDORF INTERVIEWS FOR *REDS OR RACKETS*?
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INTERVIEWEE: LINCOLN FAIRLEY

INTERVIEWERS: HOWARD KIMELDORF

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[00:00:00] **HOWARD KIMELDORF:** Interview with Lincoln Fairley on March 11, 1981 in San Francisco, California.

Now I've got a lot of material here, so you—if it starts getting too long or you don't want to deal with that particular part of the interview just tell me. We'll skip over it or something. Because I've got something like ten pages of questions, in one form or another. So—

[00:00:30] **LINCOLN FAIRLEY:** Go ahead.

[00:00:30] **HOWARD:** There are probably areas of expertise that you'd rather speak to and certain areas that you'd rather not, so just let me know in the course of the interview.

Got this taken care of. I just wanted to explain very briefly what the study was about a little more if possible. As I mentioned to you on the phone it's an attempt to explain the historical divergence between the East and West Coast longshore, focusing on New York and the West Coast. I'm trying to explain particularly what I've called the origins of radical versus conservative trade union leadership and I'm thinking in terms of [Harry] Bridges and [Joseph P.] Ryan on the two coasts as the quintessential representatives of those two kinds of those union leaders.

What I'd like you to do is just tell me what your position was in the ILWU [International Longshore and Warehouse Union] . I know you were a research director. Could you tell me the years of your involvement in the union so I get some background information?

[00:01:12] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. Well I was research director from February 1946 to [pause] to something—to maybe June 1967. I don't remember exactly.

[00:01:30] **HOWARD:** Okay. Before we get into the actual—

[00:01:33] **LINCOLN:** I might add after that, though that's beyond your period, I was the impartial arbitrator for the Bay Area here, in the longshore industry.

[00:01:43] **HOWARD:** Oh is that right? I see. They select those people through the PMA [Pacific Maritime Association] and the ILWU?

[00:01:49] **LINCOLN:** If you're interested in that it's kind of an interesting business. I have an article. I published an article on the arbitration procedure in the industry, which is rather—

[00:01:59] **HOWARD:** I would like to see that.

[00:02:00] **LINCOLN:** —interesting stuff. It's in [?The Labor Law Review?] . Is it The Labor Law Review?

[00:02:07] **HOWARD:** There is such a journal.

[00:02:08] **LINCOLN:** Pretty sure that's the title. Anyhow, the arbitration system—one of the unique features of the union is the long dependence on arbitration or the long use of arbitration. I wouldn't say dependence. The '34 strike, as you know, was settled by an arbitration board. That decision became the contract for the first few years, then that was gradually amended and amended. Basic things there are still in the contract now.

It provided for arbitration. Really the basic issues at the time were a whole series of important arbitration decisions in the early days, including the famous [?William? Morris?] decision on the picket lines, which you may know.

[00:03:11] **HOWARD:** Yeah. I heard about that.

[00:03:12] **LINCOLN:** In any event, after 1940, or at the time after the strike in 1948, the whole procedure was reorganized to set up what we have now, which involved a coast arbitrator, who handles, well the really important issues as they come up on the coast-wise basis. Then a series of four area arbitrators in the major areas of Los Angeles [California] , San Francisco, Columbia River [Portland area] , and the Puget Sound [Seattle area] .

Each area takes in the satellite areas. For example, here the whole fulcrum of San Francisco, Alameda are all included. And also Stockton [California] , Sacramento [California] , and Eureka [California] . Redwood City

[California] is there's anything [inaudible] _ . Those arbitrators—well, both the arbitrators of course are selected by the parties, and then the tradition has grown up that they'll be from the industry rather than from outside, like a professor or a lawyer. You have to know your stuff.

[00:04:29] **HOWARD:** Almost. [laughs]

[00:04:32] **LINCOLN:** Anyhow, the outsiders didn't work out, for a variety of reasons, but the principal one being that they didn't know the industry and terminology and special circumstances. Particularly, as a lot of the local issues have to do with operating difficulties and arise right on the job. The arbitrator has to be on duty all the time and can be called right down to the pier and makes the decision then and there. There's no written decision—well subsequently he writes it out but it's an on-the-job business. And unless you know something about what the operations are and what the politics are, you aren't likely to [laughs] be very successful.

[00:05:25] **HOWARD:** Haven't they in the past select the two from essentially the union ranks and two from the employer ranks? Or not necessarily?

[00:05:31] **LINCOLN:** No, we never had that deal. But we have this arrangement now. By convention. I mean it isn't written down I guess anywhere. That—well first off they'd be from the industry. Secondly, two of the four area arbitrators should be from the industry, and two of the four from the union. Union background. So I was of course from the union side. Subsequently, the two men who succeeded me have been from the employer side. The current man was an official. I guess he was a vice president at one of the major steamship companies.

[addressing an unknown person leaving the room] [laughs] Bye!

[00:06:14] **HOWARD:** [addressing the same person] Bye.

Who is that? [referring to current official who was previously at a steamship company] Can you tell me his name?

[00:06:18] **LINCOLN:** Well, I'll probably dredge it up over here. If I have it.

[00:06:22] **HOWARD:** Okay. Okay. Fine

[00:06:23] **LINCOLN:** Very fine guy, if you're interested in talking to somebody. He had no—well, his connection with the industry, I don't know how far back it goes. But it probably—well it certainly would go back to '60, but how far back from that I don't know.

He's a Norwegian. And get him started on Norway during the war, he's got some stories.

[00:06:44] **HOWARD:** [laughs] I bet.

[00:06:45] **LINCOLN:** He was in the underground.

[00:06:47] **HOWARD:** Was he? [laughs]

[00:06:47] **LINCOLN:** [laughs]

[00:06:48] **HOWARD:** Where even the employers are progressive. [laughs]

[00:06:52] **LINCOLN:** [laughs]

[00:06:52] **HOWARD:** I wanted to get to, if possible, address some sort of larger questions that don't really deal with the historical content so much but just your general observations about the labor movement, because it relates a lot of the themes that I'm working on. Essentially it's the relationship between the politics or the rhetoric of union leaders, and the union practices themselves. The common academic assumption is that there is no difference between the so-called left- and right-wing unions and the kinds of collective bargaining relations they enter into.

[00:07:20] **LINCOLN:** I know. And that's completely false.

[00:07:22] **HOWARD:** And that's what I suspected from reading your introduction to the book. Would you want to elaborate on that point a little?

[00:07:27] **LINCOLN:** Well, I've been thinking a little bit about what you told me earlier about the nature of your study. I'm convinced that the basic factor so far as the ILWU goes—I don't know the ILA very much—has been the leadership: the character of the leadership. Which as you know, is socialist, with a question mark communist. And with complete integrity. This is, I don't think, to be questioned anywhere. You talk to—well there are exceptions among the local leadership. But among the International leadership there's never been any question that I've ever heard, of integrity. Leadership, historically, derives the good deal from the IWW [Industrial Workers of the World]. They were quite important out here in the early days before, you know, before the ILA as a matter of fact. The number of things which have characterized the union ever since derive from the IWW philosophy. The extreme democracy of the union for primary example. Most of the longshore locals—you're talking about longshore only so I don't need to qualify what I'm saying?

[00:08:59] **HOWARD:** That's right.

[00:08:59] **LINCOLN:** Most of the longshore locals have elections every two years, and a man cannot serve for more than two terms. He just goes out. Now he can come back after another term. There's a sort of hierarchy of leadership material when he's in and out and in and out. But the rule goes back to the IWW, whose philosophy was that anybody is good enough to serve as an officer. Now it has to be qualified because so many type of technical issues are involved in collective bargaining that it's pretty difficult for anyone to pick it up quickly.

Well that's one thing. The leadership historically derived a lot from the IWW program. But then they have their own brand of—I think socialism is a perfectly good word, which involves a democratic operation of the union. As an illustration of what I'm talking about, let me talk about democracy for a minute. Because one of things that impressed me most when I came out here—the executive board—the International executive board which I used to attend would discuss an issue to the point that they would vote unanimously. They never adopted a position unless it was unanimous. This is maybe an extreme form of democracy.

And then there was also a rule that they would take no—well, a sort of corollary to that, they would take no position on a political issue like endorsement of a candidate, unless they could do it unanimously. There's no minority majority position. Maybe that's good, maybe it's bad, because you don't have an organized opposition. That has developed from time to time, but never amounted to much.

[00:11:06] **HOWARD:** Has the left wing label influenced the nature of the collective bargaining itself?

[00:11:11] **LINCOLN:** I think so.

[00:11:11] **HOWARD:** The union itself is certainly greatly democratic and—

[00:11:16] **LINCOLN:** Let me talk a little bit more about the democracy.

[00:11:18] **HOWARD:** Okay.

[00:11:18] **LINCOLN:** I don't know if you're familiar with the procedures, but all contracts in Longshore are negotiated by an elected committee, which represents all the ports of the major industrial groupings and then normally it's voted—well it's always voted upon by the longshore membership. And it has to be adopted on a coast-wise basis. Even though one or more of the locals, including the big locals, would vote against it which causes some political problems on occasion.

The officers, of course are elected. Including the—that's not true of the regional directors however, which some people object to. They're appointed. But the International officers are elected every two years. This is a symptom I think of the local union's position. Their salaries are never to exceed the highest level of the working men.

[00:12:35] **HOWARD:** That's true for the International officers as well?

[00:12:36] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. And if you look every once in a while there's a tabulation in Business Week or somewhere of International officer's salaries.

[00:12:44] **HOWARD:** I've seen one of those.

[00:12:45] **LINCOLN:** And with the exception of—I haven't looked at it now for a couple of years—with the exception of the UE [United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America] and two or three others, the ILWU is the lowest. Certainly the lowest of a prominent union.

[00:13:00] **HOWARD:** That's interesting.

[00:13:01] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. I don't know what the current salary is of Jimmy Herman, whose the president, gets, but if it exceeds \$35,000 I'd be surprised. Which compares with someone over \$100,000 for so many—

[00:13:15] **HOWARD:** Yeah, the Teamsters [International Brotherhood of Teamsters] . [laugh]

[00:13:17] **LINCOLN:** The Teamsters and well, a lot of others. I don't know what the ILA scale is. I don't think I ever saw. Anyhow, that's enough perhaps. Unless you have some questions about the democracy? I'm sure it can be established beyond peradventure.

[00:13:32] **HOWARD:** Yeah, I agree that it appears to be one of the most democratic unions in this country, no holds barred.

[00:13:36] **LINCOLN:** On the other hand you have the fact that Bridges was president from—well he rose to leadership in thirty-three and was practically never challenged until he retired in, what was it, seventy-seven I think. There were one or two occasions where somebody ran against him, but it was always a token business. It never amounted to a thing. It was always certain that he'd be re-elected. [Louis] Goldblatt, the secretary treasurer for so many years, he was more challenged to a greater degree, but never threatened. It wasn't quite so long because he didn't get into the leadership until—I guess it was after—well, I don't truly remember, but it was after the early days of the organizing the CIO [Congress of Industrial Organizations] because he was the local chairman of the CIO here in California before he became the ILWU secretary treasurer.

But you've got this contrast between what looked like a dictatorship—it could be argued that it's a dictatorship—and extreme operational democracy. It's a dichotomy which, if you're interested in, you've really got to work on to figure out. [laughs]

[00:15:06] **HOWARD:** I think I saw a master's thesis in the ILWU library on the one party rule of the union. And in fact I read your comments in the letter. I thought they were very cogent criticisms that you had to make.

[00:15:18] **LINCOLN:** There was one interesting event—I remember one early executive board meeting where there was some argument about the voting, which I explained had to be unanimous. And Bridges made an off the cuff remark to the effect that it was just like countries in Eastern Europe.

[00:15:35] **HOWARD:** I saw that. It got widely quoted too. [laughs]

[00:15:38] **LINCOLN:** [laughs] He really did. But it seems to me—I looked once or more for it in the minutes and didn't find it.

[00:15:45] **HOWARD:** I've seen the quote. I don't know how accurate it is.

[00:15:47] **LINCOLN:** I looked for it in the minutes in the board. Well, I would treat it with some doubt.

[00:15:50] **HOWARD:** Oh, is that right?

[00:15:51] **LINCOLN:** Anyhow, I think he would agree if you'd pinned him down that there is a similarity.

[00:15:58] **HOWARD:** Yeah. In my own way of thinking, the fact that you have multiple parties competing for power doesn't assure democracy by any means. And it seems to be internally the most democratic union.

If I can raise a couple of devil's advocate objections I've heard in the past: one might be that the rotation in office, while it tends to assure the accountability of the local leaders, it also undermines any strong following for local leaders who might then challenge International representatives. Has that ever been a concern?

[00:16:24] **LINCOLN:** I don't think so. As I say there has developed in most of the locals a sort of rotation in office and out of office and then on. For example, one of the strongest person who challenged the International—Bridges' leadership for many years was Bill Lawrence in Los Angeles. If you read the minutes of the 1960 caucus where the M and M [Mechanization and Modernization Agreement] planning is discussed, Bill was the one who fought the longest against that proposal. And he had been in—I think of him as Local 13. He had dominated that local for years. [?Paul?] was with opposition to Bridges on a lot of issues. That's really the outstanding case. So it can happen once you get the—despite the two year rule, you know you can have this kind of continuing opposition to the International position.

[00:17:38] **HOWARD:** Okay. And how about the other side of that question which is: what's the rationale for not having the International officers rotate on a two year basis also?

[00:17:46] **LINCOLN:** Well that I can't answer. I never heard any—well I suppose the argument for it is that you need continuity. But the same would apply at least to some extent to the locals. I really don't—

[00:18:04] **HOWARD:** Hasn't been much of an issue

[00:18:05] **LINCOLN:** —I've never been quite sure that during the twenty years or more that I was there that the issues that were raised, they ought to go on the same basis as the local. I suspect it has to do with the dominant position that Harry had. Nobody wanted to challenge him or thought he ought to be thrown out.

The only time that there was any real challenges to Bridges' positions was around 1950 when the union was under severe attack from the House Un-American Activities Committee and all the rest, and when Bridges

himself was—the whole series of cases which you're familiar with. You've read the [Charles P.] Larrowe book [Harry Bridges: The Rise and Fall of Radical Labor in the United States] or know about it?

[00:18:55] **HOWARD:** Yes I have. Yeah.

[00:18:56] **LINCOLN:** The best part of which is the treatment of the cases, the Bridges cases. But that was sort of a passing. . .

The only time that I can think of when a major policy position that Bridges had was not adopted by the caucus had to do with screening. You're familiar with—

[00:19:16] **HOWARD:** He opposed screening then no?

[00:19:17] **LINCOLN:** —what screening was?

[00:19:17] **HOWARD:** Yeah, I know the union accepted it. I couldn't figure out how—

[00:19:20] **LINCOLN:** Oh Harry was opposed. The International position—that's separate from the unique officer's position—was opposed to it right along.

[00:19:31] **HOWARD:** Hmm. Could you tell me a little bit about some of the arguments or debates that went around the screening?

[00:19:35] **LINCOLN:** Well I think the basic point was that the—well the rhetoric, which is rather more than rhetoric, was that the union had the right to decide who was going to be its members. Then the issue came up subsequently under the—I guess it's the Taft-Hartley Act rather than the subsequent one—the—anybody—I don't remember now whether it's specifically if you're communist—anybody who's a member of the Communist Party can't be an officer of the union. We challenged that and won it. Defeated and the law was held unconstitutional in that respect on the basis of a suit by the International union.

[00:20:23] **HOWARD:** Now was that the case involving Archie Brown? [United States v. Brown] It was litigated—

[00:20:25] **LINCOLN:** I think it was the Archie Brown case.

[00:20:27] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Okay.

[00:20:28] **LINCOLN:** Anyhow, the basic public position of the union has always been that it's the union's prerogative to decide democratically who its leadership should be and who its members should be. Whether they should work or not or how they should work. You have a rotational system of work and everybody who was a longshoreman should obviously be eligible to share in the work.

Behind that is the feeling, I'm sure, a dominant feeling probably that the people who were screened were among the best of the union people. And they were and were suspected of being left wingers of one sort and another. The union with that kind of leadership was out to protect them.

[00:21:17] **HOWARD:** Do you have any idea how extensive the screening process was and how many people were actually screened off the waterfront?

[00:21:24] **LINCOLN:** I don't have a lot of figures. No.

[00:21:25] **HOWARD:** Are those figures available? To your knowledge?

[00:21:28] **LINCOLN:** Not that I know of. I've never seen them.

[00:21:31] **HOWARD:** Okay.

[00:21:32] **LINCOLN:** There are a lot of—I mean if you talk to people you'd get all kinds of reports of individuals who were screened off or what have you.

[00:21:40] **HOWARD:** So why would the union—the majority of the caucus I guess it is—oppose Bridges on that question?

[00:21:46] **LINCOLN:** Well, it was part of the [pause] feeling of the time. You didn't go against the McCarthyism. The early '50s [chuckle] most people didn't as a matter of [inaudible] .

[00:22:01] **HOWARD:** Yeah, it's always been a conundrum in my own mind. Did people go along with that largely because they felt they had no grounds to resist, or because they were in political agreement with those edicts or—

[00:22:10] **LINCOLN:** No, I think—

[00:22:11] **HOWARD:** —a little of both?

[00:22:14] **LINCOLN:** [pause] I think probably more the latter. That just like we're being overwhelmed with propaganda now about El Salvador.

[00:22:23] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[00:22:25] **LINCOLN:** It was just too dominant a position and dangerous. You lost your job if you took a different position.

[00:22:33] **HOWARD:** Despite the fact that—

[00:22:33] **LINCOLN:** Harry Bridges went to jail for a few weeks.

[00:22:36] **HOWARD:** Yup.

[00:22:36] **LINCOLN:** This was on the Vietnam—no, this was the Korean War I guess. Somewhere thereabouts.

[00:22:45] **HOWARD:** And that was another instance when his position was challenged, wasn't it. Didn't he argue that there should be an embargo?

[00:22:50] **LINCOLN:** Yes. Yes. There was a good deal of opposition for that. But are the only occasions—well, there was a lot of opposition to the mechanization plan. That's wholly on a [chuckle] on a different basis.

[00:23:04] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Okay, we'll get to that. That's—alright, that covers sort of general questions about this. Now I want to skip back in historical time if we can. You may—

[00:23:14] **LINCOLN:** I'd like to mention one thing—

[00:23:17] **HOWARD:** Sure.

[00:23:17] **LINCOLN:** —before I forget it. The union prepared testimony for the New York Crime Commission [Citizens Crime Commission of New York] , explaining from our point of view what reasons were why we were the kind of union we are and they're the kind of union they are.

[00:23:38] **HOWARD:** Is that right?

[00:23:39] **LINCOLN:** Now I'm not clear on whether that was published in their reports.

[00:23:45] **HOWARD:** Was that during the investigation of the ILA in the early '50s?

[00:23:47] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. Yeah in the New York Crime Commission.

[00:23:50] **HOWARD:** Hmm. Now that would be outstanding.

[00:23:51] **LINCOLN:** Now you can find it, I'm sure, in our library. I wrote the testimony—

[00:23:57] **HOWARD:** Oh you did? Okay. [laugh]

[00:23:58] **LINCOLN:** So I know that it's around. But I'm just not sure whether it was ever published, because he didn't testify. It was submitted. And whether that ruled it out for inclusion in the report I don't know. Anyhow it would be interesting from your point of view—

[00:24:12] **HOWARD:** Yeah, it would be outstanding. I'd love to see that.

[00:24:13] **LINCOLN:** It's simply—well it's official position. Not necessarily a full answer. [laughs] As you understand.

[00:24:20] **HOWARD:** Yeah. I read one of your articles in fact dealing with that question. You compared the ILA and the ILWU in terms of contract provisions. I think it was in March of Labor? Remember that one? Way back when?

[00:24:32] **LINCOLN:** No, I don't remember that. I don't remember that. [laugh]

[00:24:32] **HOWARD:** [laugh] Well, it was a nice job. It was one of the articles that got me thinking along these lines. That's a good set of background materials, and now I wanted to move on to various historical periods if possible. You weren't around for much of this I realize but just whatever you can remember would be helpful.

I wanted to look at the period immediately after World War I. You mentioned the Wobblies and that's one of the concerns that I had. A tentative hypothesis that I'm working on was that the Wobblies were much more prevalent, had a much stronger organizational base on the West Coast than they did in the Port of New York.

[00:25:04] **LINCOLN:** Oh, definitely.

[00:25:05] **HOWARD:** At least among longshoremen.

[00:25:06] **LINCOLN:** Definitely now and—well the whole Wobbly movement was a Western movement. It had its strongest position of course in the mines in Colorado and around there. And I guess second on the coast.

More in the Northwest than down here. The Northwest was the sort of center of the Wobbly movement on the coast—

[00:25:30] **HOWARD:** With timber and everything. Yeah. Would you want to speculate on why it would be such a concentration on the West? I've heard various arguments.

[00:25:38] **LINCOLN:** I don't. I'm not a scholar in that field at all. I really don't know.

[00:25:44] **HOWARD:** Okay. The union that comes to mind when I'm thinking of the Wobblies is one that preceded even the ILA, which was the Riggers and Stevedores Union? Do you know anything about that? The composition and characteristics?

[00:25:56] **LINCOLN:** No, not really. Nothing beyond what I've read and probably you've read now.

[00:26:00] **HOWARD:** Okay. That of course led in—

[00:26:06] **LINCOLN:** There are guys around, a few, who remember back to those days. Well no, I guess not to 1920. I was thinking that the period shortly before the '34 strike. No, I don't think there's anybody probably around—

[00:26:21] **HOWARD:** Probably not

[00:26:21] **LINCOLN:** —in the 1920-21 period who knew about the strike in twenty-one.

[00:26:27] **HOWARD:** Okay. I've accumulated some information from dissertations that have been done and I guess that's probably the extent of what's available. Do you have any sense how active the Wobblies may have been on the East Coast during this period?

[00:26:41] **LINCOLN:** No. I know nothing about it whatever.

[00:26:44] **HOWARD:** Okay. And you mentioned earlier that you felt the Wobblies had a tremendous impact on the longshoreman in terms of their consciousness perhaps and—

[00:26:51] **LINCOLN:** Yeah, well there were a lot of guys who were formerly members of the IWW. Either as longshoremen or seamen. There was a big interchange in the early days between seamen and longshoremen. Guys would sail and then they'd come ashore and work as longshoremen. And they worked as longshoremen and then they would sail [laugh]. I mean it's an interchange.

[00:27:12] **HOWARD:** I see.

[00:27:12] **LINCOLN:** And the Wobblies were strong among the seamen as well as on the shore.

[00:27:21] **HOWARD:** Did they seem—you said they were strong on the Northwest as far as you know. Was that true in the waterfront or just the timber are you thinking of or. . .?

[00:27:27] **LINCOLN:** No, no, on the waterfront.

[00:27:29] **HOWARD:** Waterfront as well.

[00:27:29] **LINCOLN:** Yeah.

[00:27:30] **HOWARD:** And they were strong in San Pedro [California] apparently as well.

[00:27:33] **LINCOLN:** Yup. Very little here so far as I know. I never really dug into the Wobbly movement out here until. . .

[00:27:42] **HOWARD:** That's interesting, because that's the impression that I came away with also that they were stronger in the Northwest, they were strong in San Pedro, but not so strong in the Bay Area itself. I wasn't sure why that may have been so if it was.

Okay, that's really all that I had to deal with in that particular period. The other side of that of course was the employer's response. And how would you characterize, generally, before the NRA 1933 [National Recovery Administration] , the response from maritime employers in New York and the West Coast? Did you see any difference, or aware of any such difference?

[00:28:12] **LINCOLN:** I'm not aware of any situation in New York in that period at all. But I doubt it. Unions just weren't being recognized [laughter] very much before the NRA.

[00:28:23] **HOWARD:** Yeah, that's true. My own reading indicates that they were much more belligerent towards the union on the West Coast than they were in New York. Now that may have had to do with the characteristics of the union, being a much more militant union out here. I'm not sure.

[00:28:38] **LINCOLN:** Well the employers were dead set against the union long before it was a radical union. They just didn't want any union. [laughs] Certainly not a coast-wise union. That was the sticking point.

[00:28:54] **HOWARD:** Why do you suppose they were so opposed? Some industries did unionize. Some employers recognized unions right off the bat. Maritime. . .

[00:29:01] **LINCOLN:** There weren't too many before that. Well, of course there were some. Coal, I guess goes back to that, and garments—

[00:29:10] **HOWARD:** Some of the meat trades.

[00:29:11] **LINCOLN:** The meats, yeah.

[00:29:14] **HOWARD:** But you don't see the—

[00:29:14] **LINCOLN:** Well, no. I don't know any industrial reasons why.

[00:29:19] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[00:29:21] **LINCOLN:** Or any philosophical reason either. The employer leadership out here was just the [pause]—well, [laugh] they were rock solid on the issue.

[00:29:36] **HOWARD:** That touches on another question because it seems that the maritime employers' associations on the West Coast grew very solid and very disciplined. From what I read on the East Coast that doesn't seem to be the case.

[00:29:46] **LINCOLN:** Yeah that's true.

[00:29:48] **HOWARD:** They're split up—they're as factionalized as the union appears to be.

[00:29:51] **LINCOLN:** Right.

[00:29:51] **HOWARD:** And, I—

[00:29:52] **LINCOLN:** There is this point—I think maybe implies that the employers are particularly vulnerable on the waterfront. I mean, any kind of stoppage hurts them badly. And that's one of unions among the longshoreman. They're strategically positioned—not only on the job, or temporary job-related issues, but for a strike—

[END PART ONE/BEGIN PART TWO]

[00:30:24] **HOWARD:** Go ahead. I'm sorry.

[00:30:27] **LINCOLN:** I don't know when the New York union became a racket or related to rackets. Do you?

[00:30:37] **HOWARD:** I've uncovered evidence in AF of L [American Federation of Labor] convention meetings that as early as 1923 there were allegations of racketeering.

[00:30:44] **LINCOLN:** Well if that was true of the period you were talking about, then there was undoubtedly collaboration between the union and the employers, as there has been ever since. Those major activities on the waterfront couldn't go on without the employer's collaboration.

[00:31:03] **HOWARD:** That's right.

[00:31:05] **LINCOLN:** So that affects the whole scene.

[00:31:10] **HOWARD:** Yeah. I hadn't thought of it in those terms. That's a good point.

[00:31:12] **LINCOLN:** Well you don't have the same employer rigidity under those circumstances. They could be influenced.

[00:31:18] **HOWARD:** Well there was collaboration with the blue book union though right? In that period? In the twenties, on the West Coast. And yet it wasn't a permanent situation at all—

[00:31:27] **LINCOLN:** It wasn't a union at all. Well, it was a company union.

[00:31:33] **HOWARD:** But I mean it seems to be comparable to the ILA in New York during that period and probably since then [chuckles] as far as I've been able to tell.

[00:31:40] **LINCOLN:** On of the former officers of the International was telling the other day a social group that I was at a story that I hadn't heard in a while. He had come out of the waterfront during the Blue Book days and was struck with—oh I don't remember now, but it was some arrangement by which—under certain—well, he of course was a casual under those circumstances. Not attached to a gang. And they would be on call and during periods—if they were interrupted during the day, they didn't get paid. And I think this was the issue that he was interested in. So he took it upon himself to go to the meeting of the executive board of the local. He explained his problem and one of them took him by the neck—the neck collar and the seat of his pants and shoved him down the stairs. [laughter] And when he reported this to his—the fellows he was working with, they just laughed at him. [laughter] They knew it would happen.

[00:32:52] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[00:32:53] **LINCOLN:** Anyhow, that's not exactly a union. [laughter]

[00:32:56] **HOWARD:** Yeah, it doesn't sound like much of one to me either. One thing that I was speculating on, I don't know if it has any validity, was that the West Coast employers—the industry may have been a little more concentrated in terms of ownership. It may have been three or four major firms that dominated it and allowed them to organize this very cohesive structure or organization whereas on the East Coast my sense is that it's a little more competitive, the industry, and prevented them from getting together and forming a cohesive organization. Does that sound like there's anything to run with there?

[00:33:33] **LINCOLN:** Not—I'm not—It's nothing that I know anything about. The—of course there are fewer steamship lines running off the coast here than on the East [Coast], and I suppose that [pause] I don't know. You've got a pretty considerable mix. I mean out here the Pacific—Trans-Pacific lines and in the old days there was a big coastwise trade and a big inter-coastal trade. New York, you had the—well it was also South American trade. In New York you had the same sort of thing. I think [inaudible muttering]. I don't know. I wouldn't think the differences in industry mix would be important, and undoubtedly more steamship lines there than here. Yeah. I don't know. I can't really throw any light on that one.

[00:34:40] **HOWARD:** Okay, I may check with the employers and see if they have any statistics on materials or like that. I'm not sure if it exists but I'll take a look. Okay so—

[00:34:48] **LINCOLN:** There's one—there's one former employer that if you could get an interview with would be very helpful. That's Wayne L. Horvitz.

[00:34:56] **HOWARD:** Hmm. Irving Bernstein recommended him as well.

[00:34:59] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. You know his present position is head of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

[00:35:04] **HOWARD:** Back East, right?

[00:35:05] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. Whether he'll continue in that under the present administration [chuckle], I don't know. But he's a very sharp, able, honest kind of guy so far as I know. I have a high regard for him.

[00:35:17] **HOWARD:** Okay. I will—if I get back East I will definitely look him up, for sure. Thank you. Um, I wanted to move into the period of the '30s now—

[00:35:26] **LINCOLN:** You see, a lot of these steamship companies operate off both coasts.

[00:35:32] **HOWARD:** Do you have any idea what percentage operate like that. [inaudible].

[00:35:35] **LINCOLN:** No, of course [inaudible] this used to be important. Obviously did.

[00:35:41] **HOWARD:** Sure.

[00:35:44] **LINCOLN:** Not so many of the transatlantic and transpacific lines. But there's enough so that there's a good deal of contact between the employers here and the employers there. Though the ones here complain that they never know what's going on in the New York Shipping Association or whatever it's called nowadays. [laughter]

[00:36:04] **HOWARD:** Oh is that right? [chuckle]

[00:36:04] **LINCOLN:** And they don't understand their policies anyhow.

[00:36:08] **HOWARD:** It's always struck me because I remember reading from the thirties that there were two or three companies—I could think of Matson, what is it? American Hawaiian Lines. They were very dominant out here in the West.

[00:36:17] **LINCOLN:** Right. Right.

[00:36:18] **HOWARD:** And on the East—

[00:36:19] **LINCOLN:** Dollar Lines.

[00:36:20] **HOWARD:** —Dollar, I guess would be the big three. And on the East there's just a proliferation of relatively smaller firms. That's my sense of it. Now maybe that did or did not reflect on organizational abilities. I have no idea, but—

[00:36:34] **LINCOLN:** I don't know.

[00:36:36] **HOWARD:** Okay. I'll look into that a little more closely then. Um, [pause] now we move on to the '30s and we're getting a little closer to your period [laughter].

[00:36:44] **LINCOLN:** Still some time away.

[00:36:46] **HOWARD:** Yeah. The blue book union, we've talked about that. In your opinion it was definitely a company union.

[00:36:50] **LINCOLN:** Oh, there's no—I don't think there's any question about that.

[00:36:53] **HOWARD:** Do you think that it was actually inspired by employers—

[00:36:55] **LINCOLN:** I think so. Oh yeah.

[00:36:55] **HOWARD:** Some people mentioned that it probably was. Because I know it split off of The Riggers and Stevedores. It was essentially a dual right-wing union.

[00:37:02] **LINCOLN:** No, it was an anti-union device. Compared to like a—well some people argue the company unions [laughter] had other purposes and maybe they did.

[00:37:13] **HOWARD:** What were you thinking of?

[00:37:14] **LINCOLN:** One of the earliest jobs that I ever did was write a piece about company unions you know.

[00:37:21] **HOWARD:** Oh, is that right?

[00:37:21] **LINCOLN:** Yeah they were started you know—it's what they were called. Was it dual representation? Some kind of representation you know. UE was one of the leading ones and I did a particular study of the UE plant in Lynn, Massachusetts. Well, it was—they—it had its purposes other than being anti-union but I think that was the dominant consideration. They were billed as industrial democracy. And they did give guys some say, and they were sufficient in many cases to lead later to be the basis for a real

organization. It was a little like the kind of concessions that South Africa is making to the Blacks these days
.[laughter] A little but not enough. [laughter]

[00:38:14] **HOWARD:** Yeah. I guess it was actually declared a company union later on by the San Francisco Labor Council wasn't it? I believe?

[00:38:21] **LINCOLN:** The blue book union?

[00:38:22] **HOWARD:** Yeah the blue book.

[00:38:23] **LINCOLN:** I don't know. I don't know.

[00:38:23] **HOWARD:** Yeah the blue book. One of the questions I had related to that was: do you know what kind of influence the left had on the blue book union, especially if you get towards the late—the early '30s. The Marine Workers Industrial Union [MWIU] was Communist Party affiliated. No knowledge of that?

[00:38:43] **LINCOLN:** No. No.

[00:38:43] **HOWARD:** Okay. Let me move on to the big question, the 1934 strike. Um. [pause] How would you characterize the strike? I've seen it everything from pure and simple trade union demands for union recognition and a little more to a militant display of class consciousness. Do you have any sense of where it would lie along that continuum?

[00:39:02] **LINCOLN:** Oh, I think it was essentially a normal trade union kind of reaction to the necessity for an organization. This of course was in the bottom of the Depression. Close to the bottom. And the conditions were just incredible. Conditions on the job.

Well my favorite story is when the—it was told in the period in the transcript of the '34 arbitration. One of the employers who later became the—for a very brief period the head of the Pacific Maritime Association out here. A very nice guy who was a stevedore contractor was asked about the hours that men frequently worked. They would work 24, even 36 hours without a—well they would break. They'd take a nap behind the [chuckle] pile or something but you were on the job. And he was asked whether the—by the opposing counsel whether he didn't think that was a little excessive. And apparently he thought a minute and said, "Well, they've been work—they worked the previous shift was about 24 hours. Maybe that was a little too much." This was 36 that these guys would work.

[00:40:34] **HOWARD:** [laughter] That's hard to believe.

[00:40:38] **LINCOLN:** Well that's an exaggerated case of hours. But his attitude and being a very decent kind guy, suggests that that was the kind of attitude which prevailed among the employers. They just expected these guys to do whatever was necessary. And then of course the fact that most of the fellows were—many of the fellows were casual and got only very insignificant amounts of work. At the opposite end, there were these star gangs, which were forced into being highly productive, because if they weren't they'd be fired. [laughter]

[00:41:19] **HOWARD:** Bridges was in that, wasn't he?

[00:41:20] **LINCOLN:** Bridges was in a star gang, yeah.

[00:41:22] **HOWARD:** And you were selected for those on the basis of your competency generally?

[00:41:26] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. Yeah.

[00:41:27] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[00:41:27] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. And how willing you are to work hard.

[00:41:29] **HOWARD:** Uh-huh. I understand the speed-up was most severe in this port period more than any other port in the United States some people claim, before '34.

[00:41:37] **LINCOLN:** You got it. I think that's probably true. But it's one of those things that you can't prove one way or the other. There were no figures on productivity in those days. But the fact that the high speed up—well Coastwise is shown by what happened after the strike when the productivity dropped way down. No question about it. You know there were no figures, well very few figures as of that time. Employers were always bringing before arbitrators figures on particular operations, which the union was able to [laughter] usually pass off as not [laughter] significant one way or the other. But I don't think it's any doubt of that.

[00:42:31] **HOWARD:** Didn't he initially take that that position later on, sometime later that there had been a decline in productivity after '34. But the argument essentially that was because of the speed up that preceded?

[00:42:42] **LINCOLN:** I don't remember. I don't remember that it did, but I'm sure it's a fact [laughter].

[00:42:50] **HOWARD:** Yeah. So you would say that generally it was a natural union response to very oppressive conditions?

[00:42:57] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. And plus the— well, the demand for a wage increase, that's a perfectly good trade union roll. The demand for hiring hall, I suppose could be considered a radical demand. The employers certainly did. But it stemmed from the business of the guy's only getting a few—many only getting a few hours a week. Plus the whole business of discrimination of one kind or another. The coastwise contract had been shown to be necessary by the previous experience of striking in one port and the ships being diverted to another. I mean they were perfectly straightforward trade union demands.

[00:43:55] **HOWARD:** Let me ask you this then. In the course of the strike, with the violence that was unleashed against the workers and their response from the employers, was there any sense of workers becoming radicalized or developing a class consciousness? These are difficult concepts, I realize.

[00:44:11] **LINCOLN:** Oh I'm sure that that happened, but I don't know how you could [pause] I think it's obvious that it happened because the tradition of the union as a militant union has continued ever since.

[00:44:30] **HOWARD:** Mm-hm. And you would say it was rooted in that experience?

[00:44:35] **LINCOLN:** I'm sure a very considerable measure goes back to that. It's also rooted the strategic position of the union in the industry. Militancy pays off. [laughter]

[00:44:47] **HOWARD:** Mm-hm. Right. Why was San Francisco—

[00:44:52] **LINCOLN:** And then you've got the influence of Bridges. If you read any of the caucus of transcripts you'll find him sounding off about, "Well we don't want to take over the industry but the employers—we'd like to but it isn't feasible," and this sort of thing. It was a class conscious line that he was always spouting off on. Now you can argue that he didn't mean it or it's not significant, but I think the guys were kind of indoctrinated, in addition to their other reasons for being class conscious, by the rhetoric.

[00:45:30] **HOWARD:** So you think the rhetoric did have an impact over the period of years?

[00:45:34] **LINCOLN:** Oh I think it—I think it— [?bound to have?] —

[00:45:34] **HOWARD:** I can imagine how it wouldn't. Most people of course, most academics deny all that and say, "Well they supported Bridges because he delivered the goods and that was it."

[00:45:41] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. Well that's—that's true too. [laugh]

[00:45:43] **HOWARD:** That's a large part of it, sure. But there's got to be something more. That's been my response to that. That it isn't just delivering the goods. Because every—a lot of people deliver the goods and they don't stay around in terms of being labor leaders. You know, I'm trying to get a sense—I mean one of the major questions in the research is was there something more? Was there a political affinity Kama even though a tenuous one, between Bridges and the rank-and-file? Did they tend to view the world in similar ways? I have no idea.

[00:46:09] **LINCOLN:** Well there was certainly a large core of [pause] call them radicals. Has always been. Diminished now [laughter] radically. All the time that I was there, it was just sort of taken for granted.

[00:46:30] **HOWARD:** That's in San Francisco especially right?

[00:46:32] **LINCOLN:** That was the position of scrap metal and all the rest were anti-war, anti-Korean War, anti-Vietnam War, pro-World War II. I mean it's all—there was never any—well, for the Korean War there was opposition. But for the most part it was very little opposition on any of these positions. So there must have been some. Maybe they were just bulldozed—the membership were just bulldozed into accepting the line of the International. Feeling that, "Gee whiz, this guy has, so to say, produced the goods for us. Let's hang on to him even though he spouts off these crazy ideas."

[00:47:20] **HOWARD:** Do you think that's—

[00:47:21] **LINCOLN:** Oh, some of that I think is undoubtedly true.

[00:47:24] **HOWARD:** Uh-huh. I guess that depends on the locals too. My sense is Seattle [Washington] was one of the more conservative locals, maybe followed by L.A. [Los Angeles] Portland [Oregon] seemed to be a little bit more politically close to San Francisco, but—or is that unsafe to say?

[00:47:37] **LINCOLN:** No. I think Portland is more nearly—is more of the. . . [pause] Well Portland—I'm really not sure about some aspects of radicalism, but the Portland local was the toughest to deal with in terms of hiring Blacks.

[00:47:58] **HOWARD:** That I know, yeah.

[00:47:59] **LINCOLN:** And of course there weren't many Blacks in the Columbia River area at the time. That's one feature. But I think you'd find that they were—both Seattle and Portland were more traditional trade union oriented. But that is confused by the fact of the Wobbly influence.

[00:48:25] **HOWARD:** Yeah [laughter] that's what I—

[00:48:26] **LINCOLN:** I mean it's—but the time that I was around in the caucus discussion the guys, particularly from Seattle, the dominant fellows were just trade unionists. They weren't ideologues at all.

[00:48:44] **HOWARD:** So what about the Wobbly influence in the Northwest?

[00:48:48] **LINCOLN:** Well it still, it was a tradition.

[00:48:51] **HOWARD:** And it manifest itself in militant unionism that was apolitical? Something like that? Is that safe to say? I mean the direct action tactics?

[00:49:00] **LINCOLN:** I think that's—I think that's a fair statement.

[00:49:04] **HOWARD:** Because I—

[00:49:05] **LINCOLN:** They were certainly a militant bunch, there's no question about it. But without any of the—well without any of the Bridges philosophy. [pause]

[00:49:18] **HOWARD:** That's interesting.

[00:49:19] **LINCOLN:** It's a curious combination.

[00:49:20] **HOWARD:** It really is. The whole question of political radicalism and militancy is curious, especially as we start talking about New York later on with the mechanization agreement.

[00:49:29] **LINCOLN:** Yeah.

[00:49:29] **HOWARD:** I mean, it seemed the union takes so much more militant stances seemingly towards that. We can talk about that later. But yet politically they are much more to the right then the ILWU? ILA?? No question about that.

One final question on the strike itself was, why was San Francisco the center, or seemingly the center of the strike? Did it have to do with the strategic location of the port? Or the sort of radical milieu of the city itself? Or what are your opinions?

[00:49:57] **LINCOLN:** I think, but I don't really know, that the union is strongest here.

[00:50:03] **HOWARD:** So, questions—

[00:50:03] **LINCOLN:** And of course it was the port, at the time.

[00:50:07] **HOWARD:** Okay. In terms of the amount of volume—

[00:50:09] **LINCOLN:** Yeah, the volume of trade.

[00:50:12] **HOWARD:** Okay. I know that L.A. didn't seem nearly as tight. It was probably the one port that allowed some—

[00:50:16] **LINCOLN:** Yeah, no. L.A. has never been, as you know, a strong union town and that was true even in those days.

[00:50:27] **HOWARD:** So the strength in part on the waterfront may have been a reflection of the strength of unionism within that entire region.

[00:50:33] **LINCOLN:** Mm-hmm.

[00:50:33] **HOWARD:** The Northwest was fairly well unionized at that period as well. Yeah. Okay.

Now the strike leadership. Ryan's role—do you have anything to add on Ryan's role that probably I haven't read already? Did he basically just sell out?

[00:50:46] **LINCOLN:** No. No. I don't have any personal information about it.

[00:50:50] **HOWARD:** Yeah. The role of the left? Anything about the Marine Workers Industrial Union? How much of an influence they had? Do you have any sense of that?

[00:50:59] **LINCOLN:** No. Not [pause] not really. It brings up, of course, the question of the relation of Bridges to the organized left and that's [pause] that's one of the tougher questions which I have no answer to. Except that I know from personal experience that during the time that I was around he was consulted, or he consulted with the organized left. Party leaders would come into his office—

[00:51:36] **HOWARD:** Is this the CP [Communist Party] you're talking about?

[00:51:39] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. Perfectly open business. But I also know that he disagreed with them on basic issues frequently. And I'm sure that was true in the early days as well. He wasn't going to take [laughter] dictation from anybody.

[00:51:57] **HOWARD:** Have you read [Joseph R.] Starobin's book, by the way?

[00:51:59] **LINCOLN:** Mm-hmm.

[00:51:59] **HOWARD:** He talks about this nebulous grouping of influentials within the party, who were not actual party members but interact politically with the party.

[00:52:11] **LINCOLN:** Starobin would know more about it than I do.

[00:52:13] **HOWARD:** Yeah. It seems like an accurate way of being able to understand how you could work closely with the party and yet not be an official member. [pause]

Okay that's—

[00:52:24] **LINCOLN:** From a party standpoint, the fact that Bridges controlled the union—he's in control in quotes [?anyway?] —it meant the thing had to deal with him, if they wanted to have any say about the way things were going. [laugh]

[00:52:41] **HOWARD:** Did they have much of a political impact? I know the Western Worker, was their organ—their journal, became the official strikers journal at some point. I guess official in quotes again. How much did that disseminate radical political ideologies? One of the points that I'm working on is that the 1934 strike created political generation essentially, that really remained relatively loyal and left wing of the union. That's why I'm asking all of these questions about the influence of the left at particular junctures. Do you have any sense that the left—organized left—add much of the political impact on the strike? They claim that they did certainly in all—the political affairs journal and everything, the Communists claim that this was their baby. I think that that's overstating it but I don't know.

[00:53:25] **LINCOLN:** No. I don't know either. And I don't know whether you can get any of the people to talk who are still around. I mean talk helpfully. If you could talk to Bridges you ought to talk to him.

[00:53:32] **HOWARD:** What do you think is the likelihood of getting that?

[00:53:32] **LINCOLN:** Well, it's dicey. [laughter] He loves to talk. On the other hand he's pretty cagey.

[00:53:52] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Probably wouldn't consent to this format would he? [laughter] Recorded?

[00:53:58] **LINCOLN:** I don't know. I don't know. He's never—he's never permitted oral interviews. I mean there are—it's quite a program in this area, maybe elsewhere, to get oral interviews of people for historical purposes. Some of the other people going back to those days have but Harry never would.

[00:54:20] **HOWARD:** I know St. Sure—

[00:54:22] **LINCOLN:** St. Sure did an oral history. Have you read it?

[00:54:24] **HOWARD:** I haven't read it actually.

[00:54:24] **LINCOLN:** It's worth reading.

[00:54:24] **HOWARD:** Is it?

[00:54:24] **LINCOLN:** Oh yeah.

[00:54:26] **HOWARD:** That's at [?Bancroft?] , right?

[00:54:28] **LINCOLN:** No. It's at the [?Institute of Industrial Relations?] .

[00:54:31] **HOWARD:** Oh.

[00:54:31] **LINCOLN:** It was done by them and not by Bancroft.

[00:54:33] **HOWARD:** Oh, okay.

[00:54:33] **LINCOLN:** Bancroft may have a copy, but I know I read it at The Institute of Industrial Relations.

[00:54:33] **HOWARD:** Uh-huh. It's worth taking a look at then?

[00:54:34] **LINCOLN:** Oh, definitely.

[00:54:42] **HOWARD:** Okay. I will then.

[00:54:44] **LINCOLN:** It—well it covers all kinds of aspects of his life other than the longshore. He has his remarks about Bridges. Yeah it's worth reading.

[00:54:56] **HOWARD:** Okay I'll definitely—

[00:55:01] **LINCOLN:** He's a very able—without knowing anything about him, he's an extremely able guy. He represented the employers beautiful.

[00:55:06] **HOWARD:** That's my sense, yeah.

[00:55:07] **LINCOLN:** But he was a fine guy personally as well. I was very impressed with him.

[00:55:14] **HOWARD:** Bridges was too, right?

[00:55:15] **LINCOLN:** Oh yes. They were.

[00:55:16] **HOWARD:** They were quite close.

[00:55:18] **LINCOLN:** They were very close together.

[00:55:19] **HOWARD:** Hmm. Yeah I'll have to look into that question too. That seems to be really critical and understanding what happens after 1948.

[00:55:24] **LINCOLN:** I couldn't really advise you about seeing Harry. Whether to go through somebody else or just to barge in and ask him. I really don't know. He's a mystery to me in many respects—

[00:55:37] **HOWARD:** He is after all these years. I was shocked actually to see him at the caucus meetings. That was my big thrill. [laughter] At a distance.

[00:55:45] **LINCOLN:** He keeps his finger in local politics, which is a mistake [laughter] I think but. . .

[00:55:50] **HOWARD:** Union local politics?

[00:55:52] **LINCOLN:** Yeah.

[00:55:53] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[00:55:54] **LINCOLN:** Local 10, the longshore local.

[00:55:55] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Hmm. So you don't have any particular advice on how to approach him? A letter versus a phone call? Any advice on that sort of. . . ?

[00:56:06] **LINCOLN:** If you could get to his wife that would help but that's not easy either I suppose. [laughter] She has more influence over him I think than anybody else. No. I don't really know how. I really don't know who his intimates are. He's never [pause] it isn't correct to say but, he had fewer intimate connections than most people. Knew everybody, but. . . [pause] he had cronies but they were followers and not the kind of people who would influence him. No I can't really suggest—one person that you ought to talk to though, who might, is Sam Kagel.

[00:57:01] **HOWARD:** That's another name that I've been given. Yeah. He's an arbitrator currently?

[00:57:04] **LINCOLN:** Yeah, well let me give you a little background. He was working with [?Melnico?] —

[00:57:11] **HOWARD:** Right. The attorney.

[00:57:12] **LINCOLN:** —At the time of the '34 strike. He wasn't an attorney. He was a researcher. See [?Melnico?] is the Pacific Coast Labor Bureau. It was the research department for a number of unions. It was before the days of research departments. This was in '34. And [?Melnico?] took on the job with the council for the union in the thirty-four arbitration. And Kagel was working for him as a young man and did some of the questioning in the hearings. And he was active also in the big strike the warehousemen had a little later. 'Thirty-six and 'thirty-nine, I think.

Anyhow, he subsequently—they always represented unions. This was the labor bureau. It didn't represent the employers, ever. And he decided at some point to go to law school and became a lawyer. And having become a lawyer, became an arbitrator. And is the leading arbitrator, I guess, on the West Coast, and among the leading

arbitrators in the country. He travels all over the country. An extremely—well, obviously, a bright character. But he knows Bridges very well and it's conceivable to—he could be helpful. I don't know what their relationships are at this point at all. But he's still the coast arbitrator and has been now—well I guess he became the arbitrator in 1948 [pause] or shortly thereafter.

[00:58:53] **HOWARD:** He hasn't retired? There was some question about whether. . .

[00:58:55] **LINCOLN:** Well he's—I think he's tapering off. His son John is taking over a lot of the work. They're a corporation. [laughter]

[00:59:06] **HOWARD:** Huh. [laughter]

[00:59:07] **LINCOLN:** There have been a lot of arbitrators who have incorporated for tax reasons [laughter].

[00:59:11] **HOWARD:** Uh-huh. Sure. Do you have any way I could get—do you know any way I could reach him? Because the name has been dropped many times. I think I looked in the phone book.

[00:59:17] **LINCOLN:** Oh I would [pause]—I think I'd drop him a note giving your credentials and telling him you'd like to talk to him.

[00:59:25] **HOWARD:** Okay. Is there an address for this coast arbitrators thing or, look in the phonebook?

[00:59:30] **LINCOLN:** No, no. He's been—he's in the phone book under Kagel.

[00:59:33] **HOWARD:** Okay. I wasn't aware of that.

[00:59:35] **LINCOLN:** It's down on Lower Market Street or it was last time I heard.

[00:59:39] **HOWARD:** Okay. Maybe I'll drop in the line.

[00:59:40] **LINCOLN:** He and his son and one or two other people in the same office. Not as arbitrators, but doing other things. But it's right downtown.

[00:59:53] **HOWARD:** Okay. Maybe I'll check that out. That's great.

[00:59:56] **LINCOLN:** But he has continuity from '34 on.

[01:00:02] **HOWARD:** In fact I think I uncovered an article written by an S. Kagel, which I suspect is Sam, and it was on the 1920 blue book union. [laughter]. You know he's been a writer?

[01:00:10] **LINCOLN:** Oh? Probably Sam. I don't know. I didn't—I never saw it. Didn't know it existed.

[01:00:15] **HOWARD:** Yeah. I haven't actually seen it. I saw a reference to it. I had a few questions on Bridges before we get out to the '34 period. One of the main questions of the research is why Bridges was as popular as he was. Why workers, whether they were radical or not, were willing to follow someone who obviously was. And what can you add the accounts [inaudible] Larrowe and elsewhere about Bridges emergence as a rank-and-file leader? Anything, that you can think of—

[END PART TWO/BEGIN PART THREE]

[01:00:45] **LINCOLN:** Known as himself a longshoreman, and a good one. There's a lot of respect for quality of work, by the way.

[01:00:56] **HOWARD:** That's what I understand.

[01:00:57] **LINCOLN:** It was a genuine feeling among the longshoremen that you gotta do things right. And the guy who—well it's partly the gang structure. If you didn't do things right it, made more work for everybody else. Whether that's the basis for it, I don't know. But that was a fact of—and he's extraordinarily capable at talking. Persuasive, clever, knows how to angle things so that they're—convey conviction. Whether those were—and the things that he was advocating struck the guys as obviously desirable. But other than that I don't know. I don't think any—I doubt at the time of the strike or leading up to the strike the fact that he might or might not have had radical tendencies, or the fact that serious leaning is a strength of his leadership.

[01:02:00] **HOWARD:** What about his time on the waterfront? He must have been there 12, 14 years before the actual strike took place. I understood he got here in 1919, or 1920. He was in New Orleans first, then he came over here.

[01:02:14] **LINCOLN:** Larowe's book would give the dates. I don't—it doesn't come to mind.

[01:02:17] **HOWARD:** That seems to me to make an impression on people. Obviously he was organically integrated with the longshoremen. But it wasn't somebody who just happened to be there. Like the CP would traditionally come in a year or two before a major strike was scheduled.

[01:02:28] **LINCOLN:** On the other hand the waterfront was so fragmented that there was no organized way that he could get acquainted with any large number of men.

[01:02:40] **HOWARD:** Hmm. Hadn't thought about that.

[01:02:41] **LINCOLN:** It's quite different from today, where you have a rotational kind of business of guys working with all sorts of people. Everybody essentially knows everybody else, or did until the new setup. But in those days you worked at a particular dock for a particular company, unless you are a casual. And even then you normally did. You shaped up at the Dollar Line dock and if you didn't get any work there it was too late to get work anywhere else. And you were known, [pause] well if you were known to be a hell-raiser well then of course didn't get any work there anyhow. So you go to some other place. But the guys who got some work would stick, for the most part, to that particular dock and that particular hiring boss. And if you were in a gang, of course, you were steady at that particular dock.

[01:03:38] **HOWARD:** It's possible he might have rotated—well maybe it isn't possible. I was wondering if you might have rotated from pier to pier being a hell-raiser at the time. No?

[01:03:44] **LINCOLN:** No, no. He was a steady man—

[01:03:46] **HOWARD:** Was he?

[01:03:48] **LINCOLN:** —in a gang.

[01:03:49] **HOWARD:** So the fact that he was there—

[01:03:50] **LINCOLN:** As far as I know.

[01:03:51] **HOWARD:** Okay. So if he was there for a long period of time, it's not likely that they would have known him.

[01:03:55] **LINCOLN:** That reduces the influence.

[01:03:56] **HOWARD:** Hmm. Well that's one of my hypotheses out the window. [laugh]

[01:03:58] **LINCOLN:** There was no hiring hall for people to congregate of course.

[01:04:03] **HOWARD:** So it's those three factors essentially you mentioned earlier.

[01:04:06] **LINCOLN:** I think so.

[01:04:07] **HOWARD:** Okay. And at the time—I guess this comes back to an earlier question—all of the allegations of Bridges being a red, especially during the 1934 strike, that didn't seem to make much of an impression on the men?

[01:04:21] **LINCOLN:** No. [laughter] They saw him—I always thought—they saw him as somebody who was taking them in the right direction, whatever his political philosophy might be. And I think that's been the attitude since actually.

[01:04:37] **HOWARD:** So it's—

[01:04:38] **LINCOLN:** Of course there were a lot of people who agreed with him politically. That was an important unit in the—most of the locals. And they were good talkers, and were able to influence the other guys. But the basic thing was that things were going well so far as their job went.

[01:05:01] **HOWARD:** It's interesting because I've studied the '50s fairly extensively in terms of the purge from the CIO

of the left-wing unions, and the ILWU appears to be the only union where red-baiting didn't work out at all. And it was relatively successful in the UE, somewhat successful in Mine-Mill [International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers], but the ILWU red-baiting doesn't work at all. It's a very unique situation in some respects. I don't know if the men had just been made immune to red-baiting because it had gone on for so many years, or—

[01:05:28] **LINCOLN:** Yeah.

[01:05:31] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[01:05:32] **LINCOLN:** Well, I don't know if the—I suppose the Bridges cases probably work both ways. I'm sure some of the guys would get pretty fed up with all these cases and having to pony up money for the defense and all that sort of thing. On the other hand the fact that Bridges always won probably minimized [laughter] the bad influence of his radicalism.

[01:06:01] **HOWARD:** That's true. Yeah.

[01:06:04] **LINCOLN:** These are all very tough questions.

[01:06:07] **HOWARD:** I know. [laughter]

[01:06:08] **LINCOLN:** If you can get answers to them, you're doing very well. [laughter]

[01:06:11] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Well I don't think there will be a definitive answer one way or the other, but just some kind of an inkling. And you think the '34—well let me ask you—was the '34 strike critical to Bridges durability in the union, because that it's—

[01:06:21] **LINCOLN:** Oh, definitely. Definitely.

[01:06:21] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Sort of recognized as the founder of the union.

[01:06:22] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. He of rose to the top at that point, and without any challenge. The lesser guys that were prominent, Henry Schmidt who's still alive. Now whether you can talk with him I don't know. And Gerry Bulcke who's also still alive and I'm sure would talk to you.

[01:06:47] **HOWARD:** The caucus? Was he over there? I thought I heard the name drop somewhere.

[01:06:49] **LINCOLN:** You could probably—he's one of the officials of the Pensioner's crew. He lives here in town and loves to—well he's—he, both he and Henry have done a lot of radio and TV talking about the '34 strike. So they like to talk about it, and they're very active in it.

[01:07:09] **HOWARD:** Great. I'll have to keep that in mind then.

[01:07:11] **LINCOLN:** Well Bulcke in particular will fill you in for hours. [laughter]

[01:07:15] **HOWARD:** Okay. [laughter] Good.

[01:07:17] **LINCOLN:** And very reliably so. I mean he's—that's one of the things I'd like to stress is the integrity of the leadership. Not only Bridges but all the rest of them. Because I never knew anything about—they're honest people not subject to the kind of influence the east coast guys are. I think that's a very important part of the union. Why it's true, I couldn't tell you [laughter].

[01:07:47] **HOWARD:** [laugh] So in part it happens to do with the degree of integrity that people on the West Coast had as opposed to there. yeah. And of course the critical question is why those people with integrity were in the union here and not over there but, that's what I hope to find out also.

So before we leave the '30s I just wanted to ask you a little bit about the '35 to '37 period immediately after the arbitrational war. It was—most people refer to it as a period of industrial guerilla warfare. Do you think that was an apt characterization, with all the quickie so-called “hot cargo” issues?

[01:08:21] **LINCOLN:** Oh I support it. I support it. I don't like phrase “guerilla” and that connection particularly, but clearly a period of strong job actions. In fact, that was the basis for a lot of the things in the current contract.

[01:08:37] **HOWARD:** Do you think that period had much of a lasting impression throughout the '40s and perhaps '50s as well in terms of on the job control and issues like that?

[01:08:48] **LINCOLN:** I don't think there's any doubt about it. Traditionally, being able to win things on the job is very strong.

[01:08:57] **HOWARD:** Why did it come to an end apparently in '37 or at least taper off considerably after that? I know there was an award and a strike. But it's unclear to me.

[01:09:06] **LINCOLN:** I think most of the important things had to won. Sling load limits were won in the thirty-seven as I recall. There were some things that never were. Well the gang size had been pretty well standardized. But what else? [pause] Safety—I forget why the safety provision went in. The rule that an individual or a gang or a ship could stop work, if in their opinion, work was unsafe without any penalty and they'd continue to get paid, I think that was—had been established by that time.

The rules about picketing, of course, were established pretty much [inaudible] . They weren't wholly pro-unions as a matter of fact. The business about secondary boycotts had been pretty well settled by decisions, mostly unfavorable.

So I think that to the extent that there was a falling off, I'm not sure that the figures would support that. The employers have presented—I know I was present at the hearings in '46. Full-scale hearings. And the employer's brought in as they did subsequently too, figures on the number of job actions.

[01:10:46] **HOWARD:** Mm-hmm. I saw that.

[01:10:47] **LINCOLN:** A couple thousand or something like that.

[01:10:49] **HOWARD:** 2,400 or something. [laughter]

[01:10:49] **LINCOLN:** Anyhow I don't remember that they were organized by years. Maybe they are. It would be worth looking up.

[01:10:56] **HOWARD:** Actually they said '34 to '37, there were 2,401 job actions. [laughter]

[01:10:57] **LINCOLN:** Something like that.

[01:10:57] **HOWARD:** So that's interesting.

[01:10:58] **LINCOLN:** Anyhow, if it's fallen off, I think it's because the job actions have been pretty successful.

[01:11:10] **HOWARD:** Okay. So it isn't a decline in militancy or anything like that, or the union somehow clamping down on people.

[01:11:15] **LINCOLN:** No.

[01:11:16] **HOWARD:** Okay. That was my impression from the reading—

[01:11:17] **LINCOLN:** There was never—well that isn't true. I was going to say there's never been any clamping down, but there has been. On occasion. There's a great deal of autonomy, local autonomy, and pretty much even though there's a national contract, they'd go ahead and—during my period—they'd go ahead on their own. But occasionally a guy will get on the phone and call one of the coast committees and get his advice. They don't always follow it, by any means. And there is no penalty—they may make the wrong decision, despite the recommendation of the International or because of it for that matter. But there's no—they aren't removed from office or the local isn't penalized. It's only been one case of—what do you call it where the International moves in and takes over a local? Anyhow—

[01:12:23] **HOWARD:** I know what you mean.

[01:12:24] **LINCOLN:** You know that. There's just one instance of that in the whole history of the union.

[01:12:28] **HOWARD:** That was during the war? Stockton?

[01:12:29] **LINCOLN:** Stockton.

[01:12:30] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Okay.

[01:12:31] **LINCOLN:** So there is a real autonomy.

And then there's another factor. A lot of the job conditions until the M and M contract, were local. Were local contracts, or local working rules. Not coastwise. Gang sizes were a lot of variations from local to local, and a number of other ways that the men worked. Here priority rules and all sorts of the other things. So that posture, you know, was related to local autonomy. They were free to go ahead and do what they could locally.

[01:13:20] **HOWARD:** That triggered something in my mind, bringing it way up to date, the racial discrimination question in Portland. There were issues of local autonomy versus sort of union ideology or union practice. How relevant do you think that question was of local autonomy in that case?

[01:13:35] **LINCOLN:** Oh, I think it was quite important.

[01:13:37] **HOWARD:** Do you think it was a smoke screen in your opinion comma or? From the standpoint of not admitting Blacks.

[01:13:43] **LINCOLN:** For the International? You mean, was it an excuse for not moving against them?

[01:13:48] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Either direction, in fact.

[01:13:52] **LINCOLN:** No the International was really very embarrassed about it. I remember a personal experience. I think the first year that I was here, I was invited to some small group to talk about the union, and I spent a lot of time getting to know the discrimination policy. And somebody asked a question about Portland. I didn't even know there was a problem in Portland.

[01:14:12] **HOWARD:** [laugh] Really?

[01:14:14] **LINCOLN:** I was quite embarrassed. But that went on for years. Oh it still goes on. But the International and curiously enough the employers, put a lot of pressure on the local.

[01:14:31] **HOWARD:** That's what I understand. It was Matson who was behind a lot of it in Portland, right? Is that—

[01:14:34] **LINCOLN:** No. I don't know whether Matson was responsible, but I know St. Sure was very effective in pushing the situation along.

Anyhow the—I never really understood why Portland was so outstanding. There were some other small locals in the area who had a bad an equally position. But the fact that there were few Blacks there can't be the full answer by any means because Seattle, that was equally true but they didn't have the same kind of problem. It never became an issue.

[01:15:11] **HOWARD:** I know—have you ever seen a book by William Pilcher, called The Portland Longshoremen: A Dispersed Urban Community?

[01:15:16] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. Yeah.

[01:15:16] **HOWARD:** He argues in there that essentially admittance to the union was through personal connections.

[01:15:23] **LINCOLN:** Oh that was true all up and down the coast.

[01:15:25] **HOWARD:** So that wouldn't be much of an explanation then of why there weren't Blacks.

[01:15:28] **LINCOLN:** I think it was even stronger in Pedro.

[01:15:30] **HOWARD:** Is that right?

[01:15:30] **LINCOLN:** Oh, it's—even though there are supposedly other basis for becoming a longshoreman, it's still a factor. Very strong feeling. We've got a good run, my son, and my nephew, and my sister's son and so on. [laughter] “Let him come in.”

[01:15:48] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Which makes sense.

[01:15:50] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. It makes a lot of sense.

[01:15:50] **HOWARD:** Building trades are the same way, I know from my personal experience. [laughter]

Okay. Maritime Federation of the Pacific? Any reasons other than probably what I've already read about its collapse? Most people stress the personal animosity between Lundeberg and Bridges. Again this is before your time and I don't know if you heard anything?

[01:16:08] **LINCOLN:** No. No. Harry of course has always been an enthusiast for working with other unions. There was the Federation and then there was the CMU [Committee for Maritime Unity] after the war. The proposals for joining the ILA or working cooperative with the ILA. He had a deal with Hoffa for the unity—at least some sort of organizational connection. So he's always been pushing on that, and it's always broken down—to some extent for personal reasons and jealousy and what have you. But I don't think the—no I don't think there was sufficient support throughout the union membership. It's too fine an idea [laughter]. But I don't—I don't have enough—enough information again have a real opinion about it.

[01:17:17] **HOWARD:** Okay. Then finally on—

[01:17:20] **LINCOLN:** But there was certainly a real—a lot of friction between Bridges and Lundeberg.

[01:17:25] **HOWARD:** Yes. Lundeberg ultimately testified against him, didn't he?

[01:17:28] **LINCOLN:** One of the cases, yes.

[01:17:30] **HOWARD:** Jeez. And he was a Wobbly, former Wobbly I believe, wasn't he?

[01:17:34] **LINCOLN:** I don't remember. He has a son who is very active in the union these days and a very fine young man. [laughter]

[01:17:41] **HOWARD:** In the Seafarers Union [Seafarer's International Union of North America] or. . .?

[01:17:43] **LINCOLN:** Well it's the Sailors Union in the Pacific.

[01:17:44] **HOWARD:** Oh yeah. Right.

[01:17:46] **LINCOLN:** Which is now apparently moving into a unified seafarers union. I don't know exactly what the status of that is.

[01:17:57] **HOWARD:** Hmm. That's interesting.

Um. So I had some questions on the East Coast. I don't know how familiar you are—

[01:18:06] **LINCOLN:** Now I know very little about the East Coast.

[01:18:08] **HOWARD:** Okay. Okay.

[01:18:10] **LINCOLN:** We had a man in the—on the east coast there for several years, a sort of direct representative of Harry trying to work out some sort of joint action. We were trying to get the same contract expiration date for a number of years, and it always fell through. Charlie Belson. Now whether there's any documents that he—reports that he made, or he was all done verbally, personally, orally to Harry, I don't know. I've never seen any. And I don't imagine I've ever looked for anything about it.

[01:18:53] **HOWARD:** How do you spell his last name?

[01:18:54] **LINCOLN:** B-E-L-S-O-N. Charles Belson.

[01:18:56] **HOWARD:** Is he likely to be around here?

[01:18:58] **LINCOLN:** Now of course, he's dead now.

[01:18:58] **HOWARD:** Oh he is? Oh okay.

[01:19:00] **LINCOLN:** But he was a—well he got started in the trade union movement in New York, in the shipbuilding industry during the war. He became president of a big tremendous local in New York, and because of his political views he was ousted after the war. And I don't know all chances and changes in his career but at some point he became our representative, and Harry's representative really, in New York.

[01:19:33] **HOWARD:** So this was after the second World War?

[01:19:34] **LINCOLN:** And he had a good connections with most of the New York leadership. Now if there are reports, it would be very helpful for you. Because he knew the score as to who was involved in what sort of racket.

[01:19:48] **HOWARD:** Oh, that would be outstanding if that was written down.

[01:19:49] **LINCOLN:** What the connections were with the employers and so.

[01:19:53] **HOWARD:** Hmm. That's worth looking—

[01:19:54] **LINCOLN:** But I don't imagine that any of it was written down. It could be.

[01:20:00] **HOWARD:** Okay. That's—

[01:20:01] **LINCOLN:** And Harry would be [pause] well I suppose Goldblatt might [pause] might have it. Well it was an officer's business rather than just Harry, but whether Goldblatt knew as much about it as Bridges I don't know. He might be a little more accessible.

[01:20:19] **HOWARD:** Goldblatt?

[01:20:20] **LINCOLN:** Yeah.

[01:20:20] **HOWARD:** Hmm I hadn't considered that. It's worth looking into. Is he around the Bay Area today?

[01:20:24] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. He lives in Mill Valley [California] .

[01:20:26] **HOWARD:** Okay. Great.

[01:20:28] **LINCOLN:** He has just completed a mammoth oral interview but I think it's not yet available. That was at Bancroft operation. But I think it runs to something like 2,000 pages.

[01:20:41] **HOWARD:** Whew. [laughter]

[01:20:42] **LINCOLN:** I know that a friend of mine was the interlocutor. And they worked over a year on it. [laughter]

[01:20:48] **HOWARD:** Wow. [laughter] That's quite a record.

[01:20:48] **LINCOLN:** [laugh] He refused to talk about a few things, including his falling out with Bridges. He wouldn't talk about that. But it would be a mine of information. I'm looking forward someday to pawing through it.

[01:21:02] **HOWARD:** Yeah. As far as you know, it hasn't been published or hasn't been released yet?

[01:21:08] **LINCOLN:** Well I know it's been completed and retyped and all that sort of thing. Undoubtedly it's at Bancroft. But whether it's now available I don't know.

[01:21:18] **HOWARD:** Okay, I'll take a look at that before I [inaudible] . Okay. Now we're into the second—

[01:21:23] **LINCOLN:** I could find that out for you.

[01:21:25] **HOWARD:** Could you?

[01:21:26] **LINCOLN:** The fellow who did the interviewing is Estolv Ward.

[01:21:31] **HOWARD:** Oh, who wrote the book?

[01:21:31] **LINCOLN:** Ward wrote the book on Bridges's '50s case. Yeah

[01:21:33] **HOWARD:** [Harry Bridges On Trial] On Trial or something? I read that.

[01:21:36] **LINCOLN:** He's a newspaperman in the tradition of a trained writer. His wife did all the typing which is really. . . [pause] He had three different editions [laughter].

[01:21:49] **HOWARD:** Yeah. It's tedious work too, if they're working off the tape I would suspect.

[01:21:53] **LINCOLN:** Yeah, yeah. Anyway, Estolv, I can give you his phone number if you think it's any. . .

[01:21:59] **HOWARD:** Okay. Great. I'll get that from you.

[01:22:01] **LINCOLN:** He lives in Berkeley [California] .

[01:22:03] **HOWARD:** Okay. There's a lot of people still around here aren't there, that were plugged into that period. That's great. I'll be coming up again in several months hopefully. I hope to do more extensive interviewing.

[01:22:13] **LINCOLN:** Anyhow it might be something to read, if you—but he is a warehouseman as you know, and not a longshoreman. But the officers worked together very closely until relatively recent times. So that he's quite aware of other things. But his jurisdiction was warehouse initially, and then Hawaii. He was more acceptable in Hawaii than Bridges [laughter], and went down there for all of the major negotiations [inaudible] . So those are his fields primarily. And I don't know how much he talked about longshore in it.

[01:22:52] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Well if it's certainly available I'll take a look at it.

[01:22:58] **LINCOLN:** Well, Estolv could tell you I think, in detail, whether it does cover longshore in any respect or not.

[01:23:02] **HOWARD:** Great. Excellent. Okay. Puts us into the Second World War. Now we're getting close to your area right?

[01:23:11] **LINCOLN:** Well I got hired here after—

[01:23:13] **HOWARD:** You were '46, '47?

[01:23:14] **LINCOLN:** 'Forty-six.

[01:23:15] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[01:23:16] **LINCOLN:** What I know about the war period is pure research stuff really. [laughter] I read what I needed to know.

[01:23:29] **HOWARD:** Let me ask you some specific questions then. If you've got information fine, otherwise. One of the controversial issues, at least in retrospect it appears to be controversial, was the CIO's stand on the no-strike pledge. Do you have any sense of how the membership in the ILWU related to that?

[01:23:47] **LINCOLN:** No.

[01:23:48] **HOWARD:** Okay. I know reading in the [?Rhodes?] — [?Rose?] ? book, Bridges went down to a couple of locals—I think it was the San Pedro one— and suggested raising the sling load limits. And they said, “Oh forget it Harry we know that's a bunch of BS [bullshit] or something like that.” But yet they never cast him out after the war. And while they were—in one of the explanations of the left's failure that they pushed very aggressively on the no-strike pledge during the war and they were discredited after the war. Bridges pushed as hard as anyone on that issue, and maintained himself after the war. It's a curious situation.

[01:24:18] **LINCOLN:** There were a lot of other things that the union did of course to further the war, and the war effort, as we said in those days. There was a plan worked out by the union for essentially cooperation with the employers to increase production. A very good one as a matter [?of point?] . That would be available in the library. It was a government agency which handled relations between the parties nationally. I forget what it was called. Anyway, Henry Schmidt you I mentioned a bit ago served on that board out here. But the whole attitude

was one of working with anybody who would forward her the war and the war effort—well it was the union position, it wasn't just Harry's position.

[01:25:24] **HOWARD:** Is there any possibility that the leadership within the union may have pushed that too far? The issue of cooperation?

[01:25:30] **LINCOLN:** Oh, probably. Probably. [laughter]

[01:25:34] **HOWARD:** But no—

[01:25:34] **LINCOLN:** I'm sure that a lot of the rank-and-file had no use for it. But I don't have any—

[01:25:41] **HOWARD:** Nothing concrete.

[01:25:42] **LINCOLN:** —any facts about it.

[01:25:46] **HOWARD:** Another thing that I came across—I just wanted to find out whether it was true or not—somewhere I read that Bridges was defined as a security risk during the war. He wasn't even allowed on the waterfront. Is that plausible?

[01:25:54] **LINCOLN:** [pause] I don't—

[01:25:55] **HOWARD:** It doesn't seem

[01:25:58] **LINCOLN:** I don't think so. I haven't heard of that.

[01:26:00] **HOWARD:** I wouldn't have thought so. I haven't—okay. I just read that somewhere. It was in a footnote and I couldn't believe it.

[01:26:06] **LINCOLN:** Let me interrupt a minute to tell you one other thing that you might want to look up. Not very important, but significant perhaps. During the war I worked for a year—I was in Washington [D.C.] —I worked for a year with one of the Senate committees. This was Senator [Harley M.] Kilgore's committee, the subcommittee of the Senate Armed Forces Committee or Military Affairs— [Subcommittee of War Mobilization of the] Military Affairs Committee I think they called us. And the subcommittee had to do with particular methods of furthering the war effort. I've forgotten what it's called. The Subcommittee on War Mobilization I guess it was called.

Anyhow is a staff man with another fellow who was a staff was assigned the job to look into the security on the New York Waterfront. Do you remember one of the big shifts that burned at the dock? It was clearly a matter of sabotage. Anyhow we were youngsters in those days and quite brash, but we were supported by Congressional, Senatorial documents, you know, and letters of introduction. So we went up to New York and interviewed pretty much everybody of importance. There was absolutely no security arrangements in the New York Harbor. And that was the point of embarkations. The thing that interested us the most being—well we knew about the west coast and how different it was—was the union's position, the lack of any position. The shape up applied in New York. Anybody could get a job on the New York waterfront. There was no check of security whatsoever. Absolutely no protection against sabotage on vessels being loaded for overseas shipping.

And it was a united front. The employers were not concerned when you talked with them. And we had a session with Ryan and his top staff sitting around a great big oval table and I was never so intimidated in my life. [laughter] Johnny and I were [laughter] sort of scooped down in a little [?derrick? barrack?] , supported only

by our credentials. And then we arranged an interview with the general [?Bronager?] — [?Bronachick?] ? [inaudible] , who is in charge of the port of embarkation headquarters in Brooklyn. And we got in touch with him and said, “Oh yes, come on over.” So we were staying at a hotel in Manhattan when he sent a limousine over to pick us up, over to Brooklyn. And we were ushered into a room which is at least as long as these two rooms together. And he was sitting at a desk—we came in here and he was sitting at a desk at the other end with a semicircle of guys. And they were either generals or colonels. There must have been, I don't know 15 of them maybe. The whole top half of the port of embarkation. We sat at a little table in front of them and ask them questions. The only thing that I remember specifically, but I think it's very significant, I asked about the relations with Ryan and the union. He said, “Oh yes, Joe and I are good friends. We go to fights together.” [laugh]

[01:29:46] **HOWARD:** [laugh] A lot of employers used to say that about Joe, yeah.

[01:29:49] **LINCOLN:** But the united front to oppose the hiring hall for example, nobody wanted it including the Army. They were happy.

[01:30:02] **HOWARD:** Well, let me ask you about—

[01:30:03] **LINCOLN:** They got production I guess. I don't know but—anyhow we were so impressed. We wrote a report which is probably documented, comparing the East Coast to the West Coast, and I thought you might like to look it up sometime.

[01:30:14] **HOWARD:** That's in a public record?

[01:30:16] **LINCOLN:** Yeah.

[01:30:16] **HOWARD:** Under the committee that you mentioned earlier?

[01:30:18] **LINCOLN:** Yeah.

[01:30:19] **HOWARD:** Okay.

[01:30:20] **LINCOLN:** I suppose it's copy over there at the union. I don't really know.

[01:30:23] **HOWARD:** Do you know what year that was done? I know it's hard to be sure—

[01:30:31] **LINCOLN:** It could be '43 [pause] I guess.

[01:30:31] **HOWARD:** Okay. Was it House or Senate committee?

[01:30:33] **LINCOLN:** Senate.

[01:30:33] **HOWARD:** Senate committee. Okay I'll look that up and see if I can find it.

[01:30:37] **LINCOLN:** Kilgore. Senator Kilgore. Harley Kilgore in West Virginia was the chairman of the committee—the Subcommittee of Military Affairs Committee in the Senate.

[01:30:44] **HOWARD:** Okay. I'll try to look that up. That sounds very interesting.

[01:30:47] **LINCOLN:** It's not a scholarly document, but it's kind of interesting. It should have been a committee of the—

[END PART THREE/BEGIN PART FOUR]

—and his crew. No he was quite uncommunicative. I mean it was a purely formal kind of a reaction to what we asked him.

[01:31:08] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Okay let me ask you a couple of questions here about the ILWU specifically. One of the theses I'm working on—I don't know if it has any substance to it or not— was that the workforce on the west coast was relatively stable during the period of the war. Some people have suggested that the decline of the Left in this country can about because the work groups were splintered, and a people who had gone through the experiences of the '30s and to the militants struggle of that period were no longer working together. And so there was an open assault after the war and they could smash the rank-and-file groups and they could smash unions.

First of all, I don't know if that's true or not, but if it is, do you know the extent to which for instance the longshore battalions drew people off the docks, or how many longshoreman may have been drafted? I'm trying to get a sense of how stable the work community was throughout the period of the war.

[01:32:04] **LINCOLN:** Well, the big thing was, at least particularly here, which was the port most affected by the war, there was an enormous increase in the number of people working. I don't know whether a doubled but it came close to being double. With a big influx of Black guys. That's—see, the local now it's predominantly Black.

[01:32:26] **HOWARD:** That's what I understand.

[01:32:27] **LINCOLN:** Yeah and the origin that of that was this time period. Largely—well first off there was a need for more people. And secondly, the union was one of the—our union was one of the few places where Black men could get a job, particularly without any training or background. So a lot of these fellows just coming in from the south, or Texas or what have you, were able to go right to work. But that was a tremendous change in the workforce.

As to how many got drafted, I have no idea. I doubt if it was particularly significant. The workforce has always been a relatively old group. The conditions—the earnings have always been high. So there's been very little turnover in the period that I know, practically no turnover. I mean, guys die of course, and new people come in, but in terms of leaving voluntarily, to do something else, almost none. No cases of discharge.

[01:33:37] **HOWARD:** No one volunteering to fight the fascist, that sort of stuff? Or not significant numbers?

[01:33:42] **LINCOLN:** Well, a few guys, a few Lefties who went to Spain. Later, you mean during the World War II. I don't know whether—I suppose there were some who volunteered. I never heard talk about so I don't have any information about it. But my impression it is a very stable—and it's always been a very stable workforce.

[01:34:05] **HOWARD:** Okay. And this is a highly speculative question—how do you think that's debility wood compared to other industries? Do you have any sense of that?

[01:34:12] **LINCOLN:** Much more high. Much greater, and primarily because of the high level of earnings. You might want to look up a little job that I did as research director using the 1950 and 1960 censuses when they had figures on annual earnings by occupation. And the occupations were broken down fine enough so that it included longshoremen specifically.

I remember the general conclusions. Longshoreman on the census are classified as laborers. And they were way—their earnings were away above—essentially double among the laboring group. They were higher than the semi-skilled workers which is the next one, though I think the terminology has changed [?on that?]. The semi-skilled were the ordinary factory kind of jobs. Then there were the skilled workers, and the longshoremen were higher than any of the skilled workers except plumbers, printers, electricians. A few were very highly—

[01:35:17] **HOWARD:** These were annual wages?

[01:35:18] **LINCOLN:** Annual earnings.

[01:35:19] **HOWARD:** Annual earnings.

[01:35:20] **LINCOLN:** Average annual earnings. Median? I think the median earnings. Clearly does—you know, averages can do tricks with you, but, it was a very striking business. And there was a comparison there with New York, by the way. Our earnings were substantially higher than those in New York.

[01:35:40] **HOWARD:** That doesn't surprise me at all, really.

[01:35:41] **LINCOLN:** Of course there, the work was much more casual. And here—here the distribution of earnings is quite compact because of the hiring hall and the arrangements. Well there are some fellows who don't like to work very much. And they don't have to. You don't lose the jobs if you don't work. And there are some who are very eager to work, and work nights particularly. So there is a spread. It's a much narrower spread than you'll find in most industries. Anyhow those—the fact of high earnings, I think is a major factor in the stability in the workforce.

[01:36:21] **HOWARD:** Okay so the forceful drafting of people wasn't a big issue either.

[01:36:25] **LINCOLN:** I don't—I don't think that was—well, first off they were exempt.

[01:36:30] **HOWARD:** Oh they were?

[01:36:31] **LINCOLN:** From the draft. Because it was an essential occupation.

[01:36:34] **HOWARD:** Oh. That's one thing—how would I find out which occupations were or were not exempt. Is that stuff available. I've looked and haven't come across anything yet.

[01:36:42] **LINCOLN:** You'd have to write the archives. I don't know.

[01:36:44] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Ok. Because that would be critical.

[01:36:46] **LINCOLN:** There must be some secondary source but I don't. . .

[01:36:48] **HOWARD:** I would think so.

[01:36:49] **LINCOLN:** I don't know what it is.

[01:36:51] **HOWARD:** Okay. So your general impression is actually corroborates some of the ideas I've had about the stability of the labor force. And the influx of workers was largely Blacks, and many of them from the south?

[01:37:00] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. I'm talking about San Francisco now.

[01:37:03] **HOWARD:** San Francisco. Yeah.

[01:37:03] **LINCOLN:** Much more heavily true here than elsewhere.

[01:37:07] **HOWARD:** Do you have any idea—

[01:37:07] **LINCOLN:** And following the war, it was the only organized layoff which has ever been necessary, because the—well the port went way down after the war.

[01:37:19] **HOWARD:** Were the layoffs according to seniority essentially? Or do you remember?

[01:37:25] **LINCOLN:** Well, there was a lot of argument about that and I'm really not sure how it came out. But it didn't [pause] it didn't eliminate the Blacks, which you might expect would have happened. Though a great many of them left, so I don't really remember the way it was handled. That was again before I got out there. Or at least I don't remember. There are figures about that and you can look that up.

[01:37:52] **HOWARD:** Great. Okay, I'll take a look. [Inaudible] —

[01:37:53] **LINCOLN:** You might have to go to the minutes of the Local 10 joint committee. We have the minutes.

[01:38:03] **HOWARD:** Let me ask you now. It's been a problem. They apparently aren't going to give me access to the archives.

[01:38:07] **LINCOLN:** Oh?

[01:38:08] **HOWARD:** [pause, laughter] Is there any way I can appeal that decision? [?Barry Silverman?] I guess wasn't in the day that I came up here, and [?Carol?] took it to some other administrator. And he came back with the view that it was going to portray the ILA in an unfavorable light. And with the current circumstances they didn't want to do that, and weren't going to give me access to the archives. Are these subject to change?

[01:38:32] **LINCOLN:** Well, access in the sense, physical access probably there would be some question about that. But I don't think—I can't imagine any objection to your having Carol get you the Local 10 minutes for the first post-war years.

[01:38:49] **HOWARD:** Ok, maybe—I hadn't thought about that. She could retrieve materials perhaps?

[01:38:53] **LINCOLN:** You might have to—she might want to go to Barry for approval on that, and I know I would have permitted it. Without any question. Larowe, when he wrote his book, had access to everything that there was in the files.

[01:39:11] **HOWARD:** I didn't expect to get troubles in the West Coast. [laughter] East I can understand.

[01:39:16] **LINCOLN:** Well, they don't have records back there. At least—I had occasion, when I wrote this, to try to get some information about their welfare plan for example. Absolute refusal.

[01:39:30] **HOWARD:** They just refused?

[01:39:31] **LINCOLN:** Oh yeah. Both the employer and the people who ran their welfare fund. I just know that it was not public. I don't remember what they said, but. . .

[01:39:39] **HOWARD:** They don't even have a research director. It's one of the very few unions that doesn't. I had to write to some public relations guy. I've written three letters and got no response.

[01:39:46] **LINCOLN:** They had—there was some fellow who was employed for a while as a research capacity, I guess on a contract basis, and I don't have any recollection now. . . I met him. He was a bright guy. But how long he lasted, I haven't—I don't know whether he ever wrote anything that's available. I don't know that either.

[01:40:08] **HOWARD:** Okay well I'll have to look into that I guess when I get back there. Worst comes to worst I can always interview a few old-timers.

[01:40:14] **LINCOLN:** I just don't know who would be—no, I don't know the people well enough to know you might talk to. [laughter]

[01:40:17] **HOWARD:** I was thinking of Vernon Jensen. Does that name. . . ?

[01:40:17] **LINCOLN:** Oh yeah. He would be helpful. He's at Cornell [University] .

[01:40:25] **HOWARD:** Right. I might get a chance to talk to him if possible.

What about the longshore battalions? What can you tell me about those? I don't—

[01:40:35] **LINCOLN:** I can't—I can't really tell you anything about it.

[01:40:40] **HOWARD:** Okay.

[01:40:40] **LINCOLN:** There's always—well during the war I'm sure the union did everything to facilitate handling military supplies. But since then, there's always been an argument with the military their hiring longshoreman apart from the union. Civil service kind of job. But it's never been a major—but I don't know anything about the battalions.

[01:41:11] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Okay. I just happened to actually come across that in some proceedings. I didn't know what they were.

[01:41:17] **LINCOLN:** Well I don't really know either. But I'm quite sure that what they were, were they were organized gangs at the Army base here, which loaded the military commodities. They have it now [inaudible] .

[01:41:29] **HOWARD:** Were they outside of union protection or would you know?

[01:41:37] **LINCOLN:** Oh yeah.

[01:41:38] **HOWARD:** Okay. So they were subject to military discipline and everything?

[01:41:38] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. They were under the Army jurisdiction.

[01:41:42] **HOWARD:** Okay. Hmm, that's—and you have no idea what was—

[01:41:48] **LINCOLN:** I suspect they were union members though I don't really know.

[01:41:50] **HOWARD:** Yeah, because that obviously—

[01:41:51] **LINCOLN:** If you get to talk to Bulcke, he would know about it. He was president of Local 10 for a good many years off and on. [laughter]

[01:42:00] **HOWARD:** Okay. I'll check it out.

[01:42:01] **LINCOLN:** He and Schmidt sort of alternated leadership of Local 10 for a long time.

[01:42:08] **HOWARD:** Okay, is Schmidt by any chance the bald-headed guy?

[01:42:10] **LINCOLN:** No.

[01:42:11] **HOWARD:** Who is that that's always in all the pictures next to Bridges?

[01:42:14] **LINCOLN:** Oh no. That's Bodine. Howard Bodine.

[01:42:17] **HOWARD:** Oh. Is he a longshoreman?

[01:42:19] **LINCOLN:** He's a longshoreman from Portland.

[01:42:21] **HOWARD:** Oh, okay.

[01:42:22] **LINCOLN:** Or was a longshoreman. He died [pause] 10 years ago I suppose.

[01:42:26] **HOWARD:** Oh. Hmm. [pause] He was very prominent. I remember the shaved head.

[01:42:32] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. He sort of fancied himself as a Yul Brynner [famous actor and heartthrob of the 20th Century] . [laughter]

[01:42:37] **HOWARD:** Oh, is that right? [laughter]

[01:42:39] **LINCOLN:** Great poker player.

[01:42:40] **HOWARD:** Was he? Yeah there's a lot of that, right? Guys who play the horses and. . .?

[01:42:43] **LINCOLN:** Very, very—he was always taking people for large sums of money. And always—extraordinary character—he always carried large sums with him. I mean hundreds of dollars. He'd pull out a pocket full of bills and he'd loan you any number of days if you wanted. But he kept a very close track. [laugh]

[01:43:03] **HOWARD:** [laugh]

[01:43:05] **LINCOLN:** And he was, in his personal life, very careful with his expenditures. He used to frequent all of the sales. And the post office has a sale every year or every few months of things that—get letter stuff you know?

[01:43:21] **HOWARD:** Yeah. [laugh]

[01:43:22] **LINCOLN:** He'd always go and come back with all sorts of silly things that he'd bought. [laughter] He was also a great collector of records, musical records. That was one of the things. He's a curious guy.

[01:43:36] **HOWARD:** He was president up until 10 years ago or something like that?

[01:43:40] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. And he was a long-time member of the Coast Labor Relations Committee. Very active in this period. And one of the—well he, I suppose was the smartest guy around outside of Bridges. Well, or Goldblatt. Those two are so far head and shoulders above everybody else there's no getting around. But Bodine was just a little bit below [laughter] their level.

[01:44:11] **HOWARD:** How—would they—

[01:44:12] **LINCOLN:** Enormously clever with figures. Figure out something very fast. Not just the arithmetic. But the—

[01:44:19] **HOWARD:** The analysis of it or. . . ?

[01:44:19] **LINCOLN:** The analysis of it. Yeah.

[01:44:23] **HOWARD:** Hmm. That's interesting. I was impressed just sitting in on the caucus with what I would consider working class intellectuals there. I was very impressed with that.

[01:44:33] **LINCOLN:** I was always impressed with how ably the guys talked.

[01:44:37] **HOWARD:** That's right.

[01:44:38] **LINCOLN:** It was a real eye-opener to me.

[01:44:40] **HOWARD:** Yeah, they're much more articulate than most of the graduate students I hang around with. [laughter]

[01:44:44] **LINCOLN:** I know. But I think it's the training that that they've gotten. These caucuses, maybe a couple a year go way back you know. Sometimes they go for two weeks or thereabouts.

[01:44:57] **HOWARD:** How long is this one? Is it this a one week session?

[01:44:58] **LINCOLN:** I don't know. I don't know. I didn't pay any attention to it.

[01:45:01] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Pretty interesting affair.

[01:45:04] **LINCOLN:** One little story about Bodine. At the time of the '48 strike, we called on the CIO, which of course was not our friend particularly, to help us in the negotiations. We were facing a tough opposition. So they sent out a couple of guys. I think R.J. Thomas was one, and the other workers, I forget who the other was. Anyhow, they sat in on the negotiations as observers for the CIO. And they played poker regularly, in the evenings. And Howard took them for, oh, large sums of money. [laugh]

[01:45:42] **HOWARD:** [laugh] That wasn't the diplomatic thing to be doing.

[01:45:46] **LINCOLN:** Anyhow, we were all so pleased at that. [laugh]

[01:45:49] **HOWARD:** Get your revenge on the CIO, right? Before they expel you? [laughter]

[01:45:52] **LINCOLN:** Well, this was before the expulsion. [laughter]

[01:45:54] **HOWARD:** Yeah. [laugh] That's funny.

[01:45:58] **LINCOLN:** That whole strike was a fascinating one. You—I'm sure you've been reading about it.

[01:46:02] **HOWARD:** Yeah. That's the next subject in fact.

[01:46:04] **LINCOLN:** Oh. [laughter]

[01:46:05] **HOWARD:** One second before we get there though. I wanted to ask you: you said you'd been in New York During the period of the war.

[01:46:09] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. Just for that brief job.

[01:46:13] **HOWARD:** My sense—my understanding is that the Army instituted what they called regular gangs, which though it didn't obviate the shape up, it created actual gangs that worked together.

[01:46:24] **LINCOLN:** I don't know.

[01:46:24] **HOWARD:** You don't know about that? Okay then I'll look into that on my own.

[01:46:27] **LINCOLN:** Nobody that I can recall mentioned it in the course of our conversations.

[01:46:33] **HOWARD:** I know—a few people have mentioned this, and it's an interesting proposition, because they suggested that it created solidarity among the men. And then they were positioned to move against their corrupt leadership after the war. And as we know they did expel a lot of their politically reactionary and conservative leadership. I'm trying to understand why that might come about.

Okay. Now we are into the '48 strike [inaudible] .

[01:46:57] **LINCOLN:** The whole port, as you know, has fractionalized. The same way that San Francisco's, I was explaining earlier, was before the union. I mean you had the West Coast—West and River, Hudson River gangs. You had a Brooklyn gangs, and Newark—not Newark but New Jersey gangs. And they were very closely knit and the leadership was rooted to those particular areas.

[01:47:27] **HOWARD:** Why do you suppose that came about?

[01:47:29] **LINCOLN:** Well it was most—partly ethnic.

[01:47:31] **HOWARD:** Yeah. That's what I understand.

[01:47:32] **LINCOLN:** Now how much Poles and the Irish, I don't know.

[01:47:35] **HOWARD:** Italians and the Irish?

[01:47:36] **LINCOLN:** Anyhow, New York is, or was in those days a unit in any sense. There's a whole group of little principalities.

[01:47:46] **HOWARD:** Yeah. They were described as a feudal system.

[01:47:49] **LINCOLN:** And I'm sure the conditions varied enormously from one to another.

[01:47:53] **HOWARD:** Mm-hmm. Hmm. [pause] Yeah, and I'm wondering whether—

[01:47:59] **LINCOLN:** If the Army had these gangs you're talking about, it would have been in Brooklyn I think because that was—

[01:48:03] **HOWARD:** In fact, I think that's where it was.

[01:48:05] **LINCOLN:** That was where a lot of the ships were loaded by the Army.

[01:48:11] **HOWARD:** I see. Out of the Brooklyn area? Brooklyn terminals? Hmm. Okay. I think they said Brooklyn and the Hudson River or something. I don't know New York at all, but—

[01:48:19] **LINCOLN:** Well the Hudson was [pause] well maybe there too. I don't know.

[01:48:23] **HOWARD:** But you know, or you're pretty sure that Brooklyn was a major point of debarkation?

[01:48:26] **LINCOLN:** Yeah, yeah. That's where they had their headquarters.

[01:48:30] **HOWARD:** Okay. Okay, now we're into an area where you were actually there, the post-war period. And I just wanted to generally ask you what your impressions were of the '48 strike. Why it came about and why it was resolved, what meaning it had to the men if you can.

[01:48:50] **LINCOLN:** Well the employers had been laying for us since '34. The same leadership. The same employer leadership. And they thought they had an opportunity now. I mean there was the Taft-Hartley Act that had provisions about left leadership, remember?

[01:49:10] **HOWARD:** Uh-huh.

[01:49:11] **LINCOLN:** And there was quite a swing, and anti-union swing. Employers were riding high nationally. Politically, in the unions and the industries. . . So they—this was just a [pause] our interpretation at least was that this was a device for going after the unions. They were out to destroy the union, or substantially weaken it. But they were refusing to bargain on any reasonable terms for that reason.

[01:49:48] **HOWARD:** Let me ask you a question. One thing that's puzzled me— there are two things actually—I've been searching through Business Week from 1925 through the 60s, and they mentioned that after '37 that the employers actually prefer Bridges in some respects. Because they know they can count on him. He's a man of great integrity, and they're getting to be working out a very comfortable relationship. And according to their whole analysis you wouldn't have expected this 1948 strike at all. And Paul Eliel? Is that his name? Is that how you pronounce—

[01:50:14] **LINCOLN:** Eliel. He was at Stanford. Stanford.

[01:50:16] **HOWARD:** He wrote an article in 1941 saying that, well, "We can expect nothing but peace now from the employers and the Longshore Union, because they've worked out this relationship"—

[01:50:24] **LINCOLN:** Well that was during the war.

[01:50:26] **HOWARD:** Yeah. And why didn't the period of wartime cooperation spill over into the post-war period. I just don't understand why the employers were so hostile toward the union as much as they were.

[01:50:35] **LINCOLN:** Well, they were just—they were not nearly as keen on the war [laughter] as the union was. They continued to harass the union during the war so far as they could.

[01:50:49] **HOWARD:** They did?

[01:50:50] **LINCOLN:** The Union was not about to be stirred up. So they—I'm sure the top leadership of the employers was just biding their time until the war was over. And knowing that—or believing that Bridges and the leadership hadn't changed their spots, just a different circumstance. They supported the war and wanted to cooperate. After the war, you know [pause] see—I don't remember the sequence but maybe it's in there. There was an award in '46, part of the whole—I don't remember how the thing—why it went to this board. I guess it was a period when you couldn't get a wage increase without referring to a board.

[01:51:48] **HOWARD:** That's right.

[01:51:50] **LINCOLN:** And then there was a whole round of increases to bring wages back up to [pause] something like the relation of cost of living I guess, principally. And we were part of that round and the board awarded an increase of 21 cents, I guess it was. After prolonged periods in which the employer brought forth all of their traditional gripes against the union. Which was mostly disregarded by the board. I guess they figured exactly what they were going to do before they started doing it.

Anyhow, the employers didn't pay that, I don't know, for a year-and-a-half or more. And then there was—then there was a—let's see there was a wage increase in '47. Went in front of a local arbitrator. A coast arbitrator. It was [inaudible] .

[01:52:28] **HOWARD:** Oh yeah. I read an article in that period.

[01:52:28] **LINCOLN:** Based wholly on the cost of living. I remember because I ran the union side of that one. . .oh I've forgotten the relationship. Anyhow the whole business about retroactivity was on fire for a long time, which exacerbated the situation before '48. They finally paid up, but only after a long time and all kinds of excuses about how difficult it was to compute how much an individual was entitled to. Which I guess is justified to a degree.

So that was one of the reasons why the strike occurred just because [laughter] there'd been a tight relationship ever since the end of the war.

[01:52:28] **HOWARD:** And I know there was a question, or I thought there was, regarding the dispatcher in hiring halls. Didn't they—

[01:52:50] **LINCOLN:** Well that was part of the Taft-Hartley.

[01:54:05] **HOWARD:** That's right.

[01:54:06] **LINCOLN:** See they claimed that—

[01:54:11] **HOWARD:** It had to do with a closed shop. Wasn't that it?

[01:54:14] **LINCOLN:** You know they claimed that this amounted to a closed shop, I guess.

[01:54:18] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[01:54:19] **LINCOLN:** Because their argument was the union controlled the hiring hall. So of course the [inaudible] recall the dispatchers were all elected by the union. Anyhow, that was their—they depended on the fact that it was a union operated hall to report these things. All they did was to pay for half of it. So that was the major factor. But that was all part of a program to, as we saw it, to destroy the union.

[01:54:51] **HOWARD:** Do you think that was an accurate assessment of it still?

[01:54:53] **LINCOLN:** Oh I think so, definitely.

[01:54:54] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Okay.

[01:54:55] **LINCOLN:** And then it was the use of the Bridges communist issue, and it was used to bargain with the union, the union committees so long as Bridges was on them.

[01:55:06] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Did any other union successfully defeat that—what was it? Section 9-H of Taft-Hartley about the anti-communist stuff? Because the ILWU never signed did they?

[01:55:15] **LINCOLN:** No.

[01:55:16] **HOWARD:** That's great.

[01:55:16] **LINCOLN:** Not in the longshore. Some other parts of the union did.

[01:55:20] **HOWARD:** Oh, some of the other ones did? I see.

[01:55:21] **LINCOLN:** The warehouse did. They just felt that they couldn't be strong enough to fight it.

[01:55:24] **HOWARD:** Yeah. And at that point I know there was some anti-communist eruptions within the union there, the ACTU, Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

[01:55:36] **LINCOLN:** Yeah.

[01:55:37] **HOWARD:** Did they have much of an impact?

[01:55:39] **LINCOLN:** Well, it was significant, yes. I mean, enough so that the leadership was concerned about it.

[01:55:47] **HOWARD:** At some point along the line, Local 10 fell into an anti-Bridges leadership didn't it? During this period?

[01:55:53] **LINCOLN:** Yeah.

[01:55:53] **HOWARD:** What does that mean with the anti-Bridges—

[01:55:54] **LINCOLN:** Well, I'm not sure. I'm not sure with the timing that it was—for quite a while, the off and on president was a Catholic of the ACTU strike and took his orders from the local archbishop or whoever. And I would've thought that was a little later.

[01:56:14] **HOWARD:** It may have been. I'm not sure.

[01:56:16] **LINCOLN:** In any event it was true that for a while Local 10, or at least the top leadership of Local 10 was kind of an anti-International.

[01:56:25] **HOWARD:** What did that—did that manifest itself politically as being more conservative or—

[01:56:29] **LINCOLN:** A little more conservative.

[01:56:30] **HOWARD:** They were? Politically conservative?

[01:56:32] **LINCOLN:** Oh yeah. On the screening issue for example they were very strong pro-screening.

[01:56:35] **HOWARD:** Oh they were? How about bargaining? Were they less militant, or less willing to support job actions or anything like that?

[01:56:44] **LINCOLN:** No, I don't think so. I don't recall if it was ever any dispute over the actual issues. But I don't so recall.

[01:56:57] **HOWARD:** Okay.

[01:57:00] **LINCOLN:** You're familiar with the wonderful business of the employers using a picture of Bridges and [Soviet politician Vyacheslav] Molotov?

[01:57:08] **HOWARD:** I never heard about that one.

[01:57:09] **LINCOLN:** Oh.

[01:57:10] **HOWARD:** [chuckle]

[01:57:10] **LINCOLN:** Part of their propaganda which was of course spread all over the newspaper. They ran a big full page ad during the strike with a picture of Bridges and Molotov conferring. [laughter]

[01:57:23] **HOWARD:** Where did that come from?

[01:57:23] **LINCOLN:** Well the union did a little quick research and found that it was during the UN [United Nations] meetings out here.

[01:57:38] **HOWARD:** Oh.

[01:57:39] **LINCOLN:** When of course the Soviet Union is represented. It was '45, I guess. And the picture had been cropped and one of the leading steamship owners was in the same picture.

[01:57:55] **HOWARD:** [chuckle]

[01:57:56] **LINCOLN:** [laugh] So we just published the same picture [laughter], pointing out the fact [laughter]—

[01:58:02] **HOWARD:** Yeah, they tried some very unprincipled stuff during the strike. [laugh]

[01:58:04] **LINCOLN:** That sort of blew up that particular argument. [laughter]

[01:58:07] **HOWARD:** Yeah. [laughter]

[01:58:09] **LINCOLN:** Those were big days. Big days.

[01:58:11] **HOWARD:** But they just released that torrent of hatred toward Bridges. I couldn't believe it. "We won't negotiate with your union until Bridges is no longer there."

[01:58:19] **LINCOLN:** This—I'm sure there was some sort of ideological feeling on their part. But I think it was principally recognizing that Bridges was the leader of the union. They could kill him off and the union would be weakened. At least that was what they were aspiring to.

[01:58:37] **HOWARD:** That seems to be accurate, perspective [sic] . Why was the strike settled? Some people suggested that finally the larger purpose defected and wouldn't go along with this hard line anymore.

[01:58:47] **LINCOLN:** That's right. They—I can't now tell you which of the companies—

[01:58:51] **HOWARD:** I think it was Matson [Matson, Inc.] —

[01:58:51] **LINCOLN:** I never was in on the—there was a lot of behind the scenes negotiation going on that I wasn't a party to. But essentially it was true that some of the bigger steamship companies, principals, said "We aren't getting anywhere with this. We can't afford to let the strike going any longer." That's because of how long it went. It was months.

So they ousted the old leadership of the PMA. It wasn't the PMA in those days. And it was agreed to import [?Dwight Steel?] from Hawaii, who was head of the Employer's Association down there, but with whom we had bargained successfully and had known to be a straightforward kind of a character. So negotiations started up with Dwight sitting in, taking part, you know. And the old leadership just was out. The old leadership consisted of the president of the association.

[02:00:05] **HOWARD:** Was that Foisie?

[02:00:06] **LINCOLN:** Foisie. Frank Foisie.

[02:00:08] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[02:00:08] **LINCOLN:** And the trade union—the council, [?Harrison?] — [phone ringing]

[INTERRUPTION IN RECORDING]

[02:00:14] **HOWARD:** So you were telling me about—

[02:00:15] **LINCOLN:** The trouble is, my memory is so bad that I—names I find hard to—anyhow, the key personnel on the employers were Foisie and Harrison. Harrison supported by an outrageous character. I forgot his name. But he lingered on as council for the employers [inaudible] .

Anyhow, Foisie was an interesting guy. His background was not the employer. He was a social worker. And how he got into this game I don't really know.

[02:01:02] **HOWARD:** He decasualized the Seattle waterfront in the earlier in the '20s, right? Or something.

[02:01:07] **LINCOLN:** Yeah, he set up—

[END PART FOUR/BEGIN PART FIVE]

—miserable kind of characters. [laughter] The relationships during the bargaining sessions were so outrageous. It was hard to believe. The atmosphere was one of extreme antagonism. [laughter]

[02:01:32] **HOWARD:** Yeah, I remember—I think it was in Larrowe’s book. He mentioned that they unfurled an American flag out of one of their buildings once, and they were playing “The Star Spangled Banner” while they were negotiating among themselves just—

[02:01:42] **LINCOLN:** That I don’t know—

[02:01:44] **HOWARD:** Totally incredible [laughter].

[02:01:45] **LINCOLN:** I had forgotten Larrowe’s book.

[02:01:49] **HOWARD:** Okay. How about the expulsions that came afterwards in 1950? How much of an impact did it have on the rank and file and on Bridges’ own philosophy? Can you tell me anything about that? Did it dampen militancy? I know that you were in an isolated, somewhat independent union.

[02:02:05] **LINCOLN:** I don’t think so. The union got along fine following the expulsion. There was a lot of—well, I mentioned the screening business earlier. Bridges was defeated and that was about the same time. So there was a lot of rank-and-file feeling that the union was off on the wrong tack. There was very little support for the CIO as far as I am aware. They we just—they hadn’t any business mucking in our affairs was, the [laughter] predominant feeling.

[02:02:54] **HOWARD:** The CIA didn’t—the CIA, excuse me. That’s a Freudian slip. The CIO [laughter] didn’t charter a rival union to raid them.

[02:03:01] **LINCOLN:** No. No.

[02:03:03] **HOWARD:** Care to speculate on why not? It’s obvious I guess right? They just couldn’t do it.

[02:03:08] **LINCOLN:** They just figured they couldn’t do it.

[02:03:09] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Okay, I’ve asked you about the Coast Guard screening program. My question is why didn’t the union fight it more vigorously? It turns down that Bridges did but the union caucus—it was the caucus that—

[02:03:22] **LINCOLN:** The caucus voted for it.

[02:03:24] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Okay.

[02:03:28] **LINCOLN:** That caucus was down in Coos Bay [Oregon] .

[02:03:30] **HOWARD:** Coos Bay. Okay.

[02:03:32] **LINCOLN:** I think it must have been 1950.

[02:03:35] **HOWARD:** Okay. I think that’s the year. Alright.

[02:03:40] **LINCOLN:** I think it [pause] it’s the ACTU guys from San Francisco, whom I mentioned earlier—

[02:03:53] **HOWARD:** Spiker or something like that?

[02:03:53] **LINCOLN:** I think he was one of the speakers at that convention.

[02:03:56] **HOWARD:** Speakers?

[02:03:56] **LINCOLN:** No, that isn't his name.

[02:03:59] **HOWARD:** Oh.

[02:04:01] **LINCOLN:** I'm trying to think. [pause]

[02:04:01] **HOWARD:** Okay, well I'll look at the records and try to find that out.

One question that—after the expulsion, after the '48 strike in fact there's this period of 25 years of uninterrupted labor peace at least in terms of union recognized strikes. That wasn't related to the expulsion you don't think? Or how would you characterize that period? Was that period a retreat for the union, or a retrenchment?

[02:04:26] **LINCOLN:** No. Honestly I like the word "consolidation" perhaps better. I suppose there must have been some feeling on the part of Bridges and the others that we didn't have quite the—they weren't in a position to be quite so militant as they had been before. But I never saw any signs of it.

[02:04:53] **HOWARD:** It wasn't a major overbearing sort of thing?

[02:04:55] **LINCOLN:** Not at all. The gains during that period were principally—well, wages continued to go up and led New York regularly. Our negotiations were in June or at least the contract ran out June 15. In New York it was September 30. And we would settle first and then New York would have to do a little better, and usually did on a base rate. And our earnings continued to be higher because of more steady work.

[02:05:31] **HOWARD:** The distribution of work was more even?

[02:05:33] **LINCOLN:** So it didn't show up—and the gains were well above the cost of living. Well above productivity according to my information didn't come up until the M and M Agreement, or the year before. So the employers were constantly arguing that there's no basis for a wage increase because the guys weren't [laughter] doing any more work, or productivity was low and so on.

[02:06:03] **HOWARD:** But you were getting what you needed without strikes?

[02:06:08] **LINCOLN:** And I think more important that we were making real gains, or principal gains in welfare and pensions. The pension plan was [pause] '51 I guess was the first pension plan. Anyhow it followed the expulsion. And it was—in terms of the amount it was \$100 a month which at this time was equaled only by the miners. They led us I think with the first \$100 dollar pension. And a welfare plan that preceded that, and it was far above the best welfare plan I think any union had at that time. Relying heavily on Kaiser Insurance, I believe. So the amounts that the employers put in were not phenomenal but they were adequate to fund good programs.

[02:07:13] **HOWARD:** So the post-'48 period is not, by any stretch of the imagination, a period where the union's defensive and sort of withdrawing. If anything the employers are recognizing they have to live with this union and they may as well make some kind of a—

[02:07:24] **LINCOLN:** There's a real—a real conversion on the part of the employers.

[02:07:30] **HOWARD:** So if anyone's on the defensive it might have been them as opposed to the union.

[02:07:34] **LINCOLN:** They were—they were—yeah.

[02:07:36] **HOWARD:** Hmm. That's a very interesting interpretation.

[02:07:38] **LINCOLN:** And at one point they of course brought in [inaudible] St. Sure. It was a very smart move. He came in [pause] I guess, the early '50s. He was there through the negotiation in 1950.

Yeah I—the relationship was good between the union and the employers association. Less so on the job and less so in the locals. But the atmosphere was good. It worked well, as far as I know, for both parties.

[02:08:24] **HOWARD:** Okay. And it wasn't so much the Bridges had mellowed with age or something like that, in your opinion?

[02:08:28] **LINCOLN:** No I think the real—this is the point that he was always stressing: that the union had really won the major things that it could win. Beyond that you would have to fight for socialism.

[02:08:42] **HOWARD:** Right.

[02:08:44] **LINCOLN:** The wages were good; they were higher than any competitive group. The welfare and pension plan was all you could really ask for. Well you could always improve all these things—

[02:08:58] **HOWARD:** Sure.

[02:08:58] **LINCOLN:** But the principal had been won. On the job that was true too. That doesn't mean there were constant fights with the employers on the job over this, that, and the other.

[02:09:14] **HOWARD:** Rank-and-file sort of job actions took place then during this period?

[02:09:18] **LINCOLN:** Yeah.

[02:09:19] **HOWARD:** Yeah [inaudible] .

[02:09:19] **LINCOLN:** A bit less so—less so of course then the early days because things have been pretty well standardized. Working rules had been won by job action, but they were incorporated in joints documents. It was just our rules, it was joint rules which they were enforcing. Employers were always—well, both sides—the employers were always wanting to cut corners, make a little more money, and the men were always trying to get a little bit more, so it was a constant friction, which is where the arbitrators came in. [laughter]

[02:09:58] **HOWARD:** Uh-huh. Makes sense [laughter]. How about the East Coast during this period, the period of the wildcat strikes from '46 to '51 in particular? Do you have any sense of why those may have come about?

[02:10:13] **LINCOLN:** Well, no, not really. Have you ready [Vernon] Jensen's book?

[02:10:18] **HOWARD:** Yeah, I have.

[02:10:19] **LINCOLN:** "Strife on the Waterfront," is that the title?

[02:10:20] **HOWARD:** Yeah, that's what it's called.

[02:10:22] **LINCOLN:** That's the only book, as far as I know, or only document around the cause that talks about the New York situation. And I think it's a very accurate kind of a job. But there was a lot of—a lot of

opposition going on here and there. You know, the Brooklyn workers published—at least the rank-and-file Brooklyn workers published a paper for years.

[02:10:55] **HOWARD:** “Shape Up”? Is that—

[02:10:57] **LINCOLN:** I don’t remember what it was called.

[02:10:58] **HOWARD:** I’ve been looking at something in the ILWU library.

[02:11:00] **LINCOLN:** I think we probably had a good file they used to send us. [laughter]

[02:11:04] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[02:11:05] **LINCOLN:** The document. More in that particular area, I think, in Brooklyn than elsewhere. That I don’t understand.

[02:11:09] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[02:11:11] **LINCOLN:** So there was a good deal of feeling that they were getting what the West Coast got and they wanted to try and do something about it.

[02:11:27] **HOWARD:** That seems to be very prevalent. I’ve been reading through “The Shape Up”—if that’s the one you’re talking about—front page coverage constantly between the East and West Coast situation.

[02:11:36] **LINCOLN:** Yeah, but the top leadership of the union back there didn’t want anything to do with us—

[02:11:44] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[02:11:46] **LINCOLN:** —and any of our ways. [laughter] Would’ve interfered with some of the more nefarious activity.

[02:11:53] **HOWARD:** That’s one thing I wanted to ask you. That’s right. I remember reading during the ‘30s, the early thirties, that there was corruption and kickbacks on the West Coast as well. Is that an accurate—

[02:12:02] **LINCOLN:** In the ‘30s?

[02:12:03] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[02:12:04] **LINCOLN:** I—no I don’t— I never ran across it or knew about it.

[02:12:08] **HOWARD:** Okay, I’ll check into that again. Because it would obviously be significant if progressive leadership takes over the union here and roots out that corruption.

[02:12:16] **LINCOLN:** Yeah, well, I just don’t know.

[02:12:18] **HOWARD:** Okay.

[02:12:18] **LINCOLN:** You mean before the strike.

[02:12:19] **HOWARD:** Before the strike. Yeah. During the blue book period.

[02:12:23] **LINCOLN:** I don't know.

[02:12:24] **HOWARD:** Okay. I'll take a look at that. Do you have any comments about why the AF of L chartered union was defeated by the ILA in the East Coast after its expulsion?

[02:12:37] **LINCOLN:** No that whole business I never really understood.

[02:12:42] **HOWARD:** Yeah. It's pretty sketchy, but I can look at it again.

Now we're into modernization, which brings us back home. Took us a roundabout way to get here. The major question—the thing that I read all the time—is that the Mechanization and Modernization Agreement was classic collaboration. And you pretty much deal with that in your book, but do you have any other thoughts that you would like to make on it or?

[02:13:13] **LINCOLN:** No, I don't think so. My personal feelings somewhat shifted. I mean, I was sold on the plan originally, and made speeches about it and so on. Particularly during the period that I was the arbitrator, I could see that the basis for criticizing the rank-and-file point of view. I think that it's not an unfair characterization to call it class collaboration. But it's hard to establish now that the union was hurt by it. I mean the guys' earnings these days are just astronomical. [laughter]

[02:14:03] **HOWARD:** Yeah, they are. But at the same time you cut into your base, right? Your membership, significantly?

[02:14:11] **LINCOLN:** Oh, there were—their actual numbers, particularly from here, but throughout the coast—yeah. Harry's position on that was always that the union can only—can't control the membership—or the employment I guess is a better way to put it—can't control employment. And that all it can do is to do the best for its members that it can, whoever the members are, its diminishing members. And somewhere he made a statement that even if the membership was reduced to one he still would—

[02:14:57] **HOWARD:** I read that in here, yeah.

[02:14:58] **LINCOLN:** Would be the—

[02:14:59] **HOWARD:** Highly protected.

[02:15:00] **LINCOLN:** —the best paid worker in the country or something. [laughter]

[02:15:03] **HOWARD:** [laughter] Yeah. Were—are there particular employers that favored the M and M Agreement?

[02:15:11] **LINCOLN:** Now Matson was the big leader in that.

[02:15:15] **HOWARD:** Because they were the most heavily involved in containerization right?

[02:15:17] **LINCOLN:** Well, yes. There—by the way—you was saying that the ILA doesn't have any research department. The only company—as far I know—that has ever had a research department is Matson. And the APL [American President Lines], for a time, had a guy that was a research man, but I don't think that it ever amounted to anything. But Matson had a really highly organized research department, which was one of the first to go into— what do they call it nowadays—it was a whole branch of statistics which. . .[pause]

Anyhow, they did a really superb job to establish the value of containerization from here to Hawaii. It was limited to that. And they sold the company on it. It was a real case, and a very unusual case, of research paying off. [laughter] But that was—that started the—they did the first containerization of the six [companies] I guess. They had a really able, bright guy who was running that show. The name is gone. But they were the spearhead.

[02:16:43] **HOWARD:** Okay.

[02:16:44] **LINCOLN:** And there was a lot of opposition, which I guess I point out, within the PMA. I remember specifically talking to a fellow who was the representative here for an east coast company. Most of their business was transatlantic, but they did some here. I can't remember now what company it is. It was a foreign company, British company. And he just pooh-poohed the whole idea, "It just won't work on the long voyages, lose too much space, can't carry as much tonnage for the same ship," and so on and so on. Anyway he just thought it was nonsense. [laughter]

[02:17:27] **HOWARD:** [laughter].

[02:17:27] **LINCOLN:** And there was a lot of that kind of conservative feeling—

[02:17:32] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[02:17:32] **LINCOLN:** That it wouldn't work, except from here to Hawaii because you got a return load, you know. Or here to Alaska because again you got a return load. But the Transpacific, or Transatlantic—well, not only the return load, just the distance—the longer the distance, the greater the loss if you don't fill the ship.

[02:17:59] **HOWARD:** Uh-huh. Can you get—

[02:18:01] **LINCOLN:** And then in general the Pacific ports—I mean the East Coast—Far East [East Asia] ports and the European ports weren't equipped to handle containers until later and then [laughter] of course they burgeoned.

[02:18:16] **HOWARD:** They were a relatively small percentage of waterborne commerce—the containers—in this period, right?

[02:18:22] **LINCOLN:** Oh yeah. Yeah.

[02:18:22] **HOWARD:** Ten percent? It's really small.

[02:18:23] **LINCOLN:** Really small. Very small.

[02:18:24] **HOWARD:** So it was more like a preview of things to come and people would have to align themselves and deal with it in some fashion.

[02:18:31] **LINCOLN:** But the—I think the union was really more aware of the possibilities than the employers.

[02:18:38] **HOWARD:** It certainly sounds like it.

How about in the union itself? Were there particular alignments along this question of containerization, or the M and M Agreement I should say? What were the political splits within the union? At one point you mentioned it was sort of the conservative old line unionists with a couple of vocal leftists in opposition to Bridges and the leadership, essentially.

[02:18:59] **LINCOLN:** Mm-hmm.

[02:19:00] **HOWARD:** Is that pretty much the alignment?

[02:19:01] **LINCOLN:** Well the big opposition. [pause] I mean, the big opposition was the bona fide trade unionists from Seattle and Pedro I guess, mostly. They—well probably I quoted this—the guys were concerned about the loss of the working conditions, which they accused Harry, “Look Harry”—and this would be open business in the caucus—“You taught us how to get these things, now you’re telling us to give them up.” And they just couldn’t understand it. It didn’t seem to them to make any sense. But that was not an ideological thing, unless trade unionism is ideological. But they, they just—it was a tradition. You didn’t give away—it was kind of the beginning of—what do they call it now? Is it giveaway provisions in the contract?

[02:20:12] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Giveaway? Yeah. Right.

[02:20:14] **LINCOLN:** It was sort of the beginning of that and these guys couldn’t—couldn’t see—

[02:20:17] **HOWARD:** But you were getting something in exchange. That’s the difference. It wasn’t an outright giveaway.

[02:20:21] **LINCOLN:** You know, that’s right. That was the answer, so far as the leadership went.

[02:20:28] **HOWARD:** So it wasn’t an ideological decision at all.

[02:20:29] **LINCOLN:** No, no.

[02:20:31] **HOWARD:** As far as you could tell. Except for these vocal leftist minority of them, right? Perhaps? Or—

[02:20:35] **LINCOLN:** Yeah, they were kind of confused. It struck them as an odd thing for a union to be doing. On the other hand they were—had always been supporters of the International, and they didn’t know quite which way to go.

[02:20:53] **HOWARD:** [laughter] Any—

[02:20:53] **LINCOLN:** I guess I pointed out there was no official response or reaction from the party until, I don’t know, maybe a year later. It was a long time.

[02:21:05] **HOWARD:** ‘Sixty-three you said. Yeah, a couple of years later.

[02:21:07] **LINCOLN:** [laughter] And then it was a kind of wishy washy one.

[02:21:12] **HOWARD:** I guess it’s okay. [laughter] That’s—[laughter].

[02:21:18] **LINCOLN:** [laughter]

[02:21:18] **HOWARD:** I guess I was gonna ask you something else about that. Yeah. Local 13 in Los Angeles seemed to be of the major force in opposition of the M&M Agreement.

[02:21:28] **LINCOLN:** Well that had a basis in the situation. Los Angeles had been most successful in creating unnecessary jobs I suppose. What a way to put it. But they had this extraordinary system—more than any other port—doubled handling or multiple handling.

[02:21:51] **HOWARD:** That was still going on there then—

[02:21:52] **LINCOLN:** Oh yeah.

[02:21:52] **HOWARD:** As late as 1960?

[02:21:54] **LINCOLN:** Oh yes. It was—It meant the dock work, which is where that occurred, was a very big percentage of the work in the Los Angeles harbor area. And they saw this as taking away a large hunk of their work.

[02:22:15] **HOWARD:** Double handling—the Teamsters would unload it off of the trucks or whatever and then the longshoremen would pick it up from there and put it on the ships, right?

[02:22:21] **LINCOLN:** Yeah, well—things would come in on the truck as units and boxes and bales and bags and whatnot, and they'd be taken off and put on the scale at the dock. Piles of these things. They were handled individually and then the longshoremen would come along and put them on a longshore board. And well they'd come in on a board—on the truck, a Teamster board, and they'd be taken off. The board would be taken off and the Teamster guys would take the stuff off the board and then the reverse would occur when the longshoremen came in and put it on the board and it would go into the ship. And again it would come off the board and be handled a unit, and box in a box. And of course at the other end the same thing was reversed. So it was a multiple handling as much as the double handling.

[02:23:22] **HOWARD:** Mm-hmm. And this was practice more widely in L.A. than the other West Coast—

[02:23:25] **LINCOLN:** Much, much more so than anywhere else.

[02:23:27] **HOWARD:** Why was that so?

[02:23:27] **LINCOLN:** We had—here there was a rule that things were taken off the board unless they exceeded the load limit. So there was a skimming—what was that phrase—the load was skimmed if it was suggested that it was too big, which often didn't occur. In the—I guess in the Northwest there was more—I really don't know how much the double handling occurred up there. I think it was kind of standard practice. In Los Angeles, everything was handled that way. [laughter]

[02:24:08] **HOWARD:** Why do you suppose that was? Do you know? I mean it's curious that Los Angeles would maintain a system like that. Is it because of Lawrence's position down there, his hostility toward the International or something, or?

[02:24:20] **LINCOLN:** Well he was arguing all along that they to be—that they would lose as much in terms of employment as we were getting through the whole—10 million dollars or whatever it was—from the mechanization climb. I think he's probably right [laughter]. But why they had so much of this double handling I don't know. No I don't think it had anything to do with the opposition between Lawrence and Bridges. Now, technological differences, types of cargo perhaps. I don't know.

[02:24:57] **HOWARD:** Okay. That's something to look into. Okay.

You made a very—I think it's a controversial statement that M and M really didn't have much of an impact on stabilizing the labor force. It really had to do with the economic situation and the economy and the fact that there was an upswing in shipping because of the Korean War—Vietnam War, I guess. Do you still hold to that statement?

[02:25:21] **LINCOLN:** I'm not quite—

[02:25:22] **HOWARD:** Well if I—

[02:25:22] **LINCOLN:** I'm not quite sure what you're referring to.

[02:25:25] **HOWARD:** As I read it, that economic prosperity for the longshoremen came about largely because of the upswing in the economy, because of shipments to Vietnam, and had less to do with provisions of the M and M agreement. Did I miss read it or misinterpret?

[02:25:42] **LINCOLN:** Well, I don't remember arguing that. But the upswing sort of—I mean due to the Vietnam War, particularly here as far as San Francisco was most protected—tended to mask the job-losing effects of the M and M Agreement.

[02:26:13] **HOWARD:** I guess that's what I was asking about. Yeah.

[02:26:15] **LINCOLN:** Because well the tonnage you'll always hear. I don't know the figures it's at now.

[02:26:20] **HOWARD:** Okay. Yeah. You were saying that the loss in employment wasn't as severe as it might have been.

[02:26:30] **LINCOLN:** Yeah.

[02:26:31] **HOWARD:** Okay. I thought I remembered reading something about M and M hadn't been as successful in securing employment, but I'll have to go back and take a look at that again. I don't remember exactly what I read.

And the East Coast situation—I know you have a chapter in there on the ILA and it certainly would appear that the ILA took a much more militant to response, in traditional trade union terms, towards the problem of technological change. You have anything you'd like to add to what you said earlier about that, the possible reasons for that?

[02:27:05] **LINCOLN:** No. I recently had quite a bit more about the ILA and the contrast between the two but I cut out a lot of it because it didn't really have the information [laughter] about the ILA situation period it's very, very complicated and I don't pretend to understand it.

[02:27:25] **HOWARD:** Yeah. One thing that's occurred to me—I've been talking to a few people. They suggested that the reason the ILA took a more militant response was—had to do with the composition of the employers. Specifically, that the stevedore contractors have a much more important role on that coast than they do on this coast. I mean it was in the interest of stevedore contractors to hire large numbers of layers, because I guess they could pay by the head. And they would have an interest in align themselves with the union to impose any scheme that would reduce the size of the workforce, whereas on the West Coast stevedores were less important, and—you know—it was the union versus the united—

[02:28:04] **LINCOLN:** I think I made it clear that the stevedores and the ship owners—the steamship companies—didn't always see eye to eye for exactly that reason.

[02:28:17] **HOWARD:** Right. I remember reading that in there.

[02:28:21] **LINCOLN:** They made money by—well, when there were more people working.

[02:28:25] **HOWARD:** Right.

[02:28:27] **LINCOLN:** That was certainly a factor in Los Angeles where [laughter] the employers were not keen about the loss of double handing.

We started off on another point and I lost it. What was your last question? I don't think I—

[02:28:49] **HOWARD:** It was about the relationship between stevedores and operators—

[02:28:52] **LINCOLN:** Oh yes. On the East Coast. Well I can't—I can't comment on whether they were more important to back there than they are here. But I think there's another point that I think I did make in the book to explain the trade union position back there as contrasted here. They had—their gang—see, their basic position was that They wouldn't reduce the gangs irrespective of the change and work conditions. And I think I made the point which I think is sound that they didn't have anything else to substitute. I mean the gang structure was their principle means of maintaining their earnings.

[02:29:45] **HOWARD:** That was my next question exactly: retaining the gang size because the gangs were the main source of job security.

[02:29:50] **LINCOLN:** Right. Right.

[02:29:51] **HOWARD:** Yeah. I thought that was an excellent observation. I hadn't come across anything like—by the way I thought the book was outstanding. It was the best thing I've read on that by far. I got a lot out of it.

[02:29:59] **LINCOLN:** Thank you.

[02:30:00] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Okay.

[02:30:02] **LINCOLN:** You found out how many had been sold? I don't have any contract.

[02:30:08] **HOWARD:** Oh, is that right? [laughter]

[02:30:10] **LINCOLN:** They don't make contracts with their books.

[02:30:12] **HOWARD:** Through the UCLA.

[02:30:14] **LINCOLN:** As far as I know.

[02:30:14] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[02:30:15] **LINCOLN:** And I think they published 1000, and they normally publish only 500. And I sort of urged them to do some more. Whether they did I don't really know. I've never had any report, except the sort of off-the-cuff statement, They're selling very well. That'd be sort of—I could find out, I suppose.

[02:30:36] **HOWARD:** Yeah. I could talk to some people there. I don't know if I have the connections there.

[02:30:41] **LINCOLN:** I can't think of the guy that I dealt with principally.

[02:30:45] **HOWARD:** Well it was Irving Bernstein was one—

[02:30:47] **LINCOLN:** Well Irving of course, I talked to about this who was interested in it. And he wasn't [inaudible] . I doubt he would know who it was. [laughter]

[02:31:00] **HOWARD:** Yeah. Frederick Myers, director of the institute?

[02:31:02] **LINCOLN:** Well, Myers, no. I didn't do with him, but I talked with him. This was a political science—

[END PART FIVE/BEGIN PART SIX]

[02:31:12] **HOWARD:** Yeah. I don't know the people over there that well to tell you the truth, but I'll look into it.

[02:31:17] **LINCOLN:** You are not at the institute, you're just—

[02:31:19] **HOWARD:** No, I'm in the Department of Sociology. I work with a guy named Professor [Maurice] Zeitlin.

[02:31:22] **LINCOLN:** Zeitlin?

[02:31:23] **HOWARD:** Yeah. He's actually going to be here speaking on plant closures in Berkeley [California] tonight.

[02:31:28] **LINCOLN:** Oh.

[02:31:29] **HOWARD:** Yeah. He's done most of his research on Latin America, a little bit on labor.

[02:31:34] **LINCOLN:** I don't think I've run across his name.

[02:31:36] **HOWARD:** Probably not.

Okay, the last set of questions sort of tie everything together. [laughter]

[02:31:42] **LINCOLN:** [laughter]

[02:31:42] **HOWARD:** If you're still awake. [laughter] It's long I realize, but I really appreciate the—

[02:31:47] **LINCOLN:** Yeah, well I—kind of fun, actually.

[02:31:50] **HOWARD:** Good. I'm glad. It has to do with factions within the unions themselves, and how much politicization is a long left and right lines. Some of us will make statements that there are locals that have been under the anti-Bridges regime, or the pro-Bridges regime. Do those have any relationship to left and right as we know on a political spectrum, or is it just—I don't know what. I just want to know what it means to be an anti-Bridges leader, for instance.

[02:32:22] **LINCOLN:** Well, there was the Catholic opposition. Yeah. Which is kind of a combination of church and control and basic conservatism. Now there—in the days where the left was much more important than it is now there was some organized left activity within some of the locals. More here I guess than anywhere else on the coast. There were the left caucuses [inaudible] to.

[door opens, footsteps]

Hi.

[02:33:03] **UNKNOWN VOICE:** Hello.

[02:33:03] **HOWARD:** [laughter] Almost done here.

[door closes, footsteps retreat]

[02:33:12] **LINCOLN:** There are always opportunists who thought they saw an opening to—not really to go after the leadership itself or for political purposes but to promote their leadership within a local. Good, good many—a good deal of that, I would say, which was non-ideological. I don't know if those—that kind of random observation helps or. . . [laughter]

[02:33:48] **HOWARD:** Which locals tended to be left and right, or did that vary? [pause] I suppose—

[02:33:56] **LINCOLN:** Well I suppose there's more, what you'd call radicalism here in San Francisco than elsewhere. The Seattle local typically not particularly so. Los Angeles some tendency to have a [pause] no, I don't know that I could say so for sure. But I think that the contrast between San Francisco and Seattle probably was the striking one.

[02:34:27] **HOWARD:** That's what I heard, that Seattle tended to be one of the most conservative consistently.

[02:34:31] **LINCOLN:** But not conservatives in terms of trade unionism. You could always count on them to fight on trade union issues.

[02:34:41] **HOWARD:** Uh-huh. Okay, would you—

[02:34:44] **LINCOLN:** First class leadership. I don't mean class leadership in that sense. [laughter] Just able, bright guys. Very solid, but not ideological one way or the other.

[02:35:03] **HOWARD:** Not conservative ideology either, or just—

[02:35:05] **LINCOLN:** Oh not, not a—

[02:35:06] **HOWARD:** —they didn't want to deal with politics?

[02:35:07] **LINCOLN:** No, just that they. . . [pause] They were quite—well the phrase is they were not helpful if they're not ideological. I mean the phrase conservative isn't helpful if it's not in an ideological context. I don't think most of them were ideological conservatives. They were militant trade unionists.

[02:35:32] **HOWARD:** Okay.

How about—I've got a series of questions. How important is political ideology in the union? How important is economic self-interest? How significant were generational splits, racial splits, ethnic splits, and religious splits?

[02:35:47] **LINCOLN:** [laughter]

[02:35:47] **HOWARD:** [laughter] That's a mouthful. I mean, the basic question is how—we talked about it earlier—the relationship between delivering the goods, and some of the larger political commitment to people. I guess we've already touched on it actually, but—

[02:36:02] **LINCOLN:** I don't think I have anything to add to the—

[02:36:06] **HOWARD:** Okay.

[02:36:08] **LINCOLN:** The racial [pause] was a long fight. [pause] We've talked about the Portland situation. There'd been a campaign for a long time to get more Black bosses. Here is the only place where it's become an issue I think, particularly. But I don't there's been very much Black-white feeling politically speaking anywhere. In Local 10 Black guys have come up pretty rapidly to positions of leadership.

[02:37:05] **HOWARD:** I was under the impression just from my reading that good non-white members of the Longshore division I'm talking about both Hawaii now and on the coast were probably the most loyal to Bridges. Would that be an accurate assessment or does it depend on the issue?

[02:37:26] **LINCOLN:** Well they certainly have been and remain loyal even more so than others. I'm not too—hard to tell. I don't think there have been any outstanding anti-Bridges people among the Blacks. Well, Hawaii has been the—Hawaii longshoreman have been the core of the union down there as they had here and very supportive of the Union. That story in Hawaii is something that one of you guys ought to deal with sometime.

[02:38:13] **HOWARD:** Some of the—

[02:38:13] **LINCOLN:** The whole life of the islands has been changed by the union, the [inaudible] the union.

[02:38:21] **HOWARD:** Yeah I understand there's a new book now.

[02:38:26] **LINCOLN:** Well, there's a book about the—

[02:38:28] **HOWARD:** On Hall? Is that his name? About someone named Hall? Is that—

[02:38:32] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. Yeah, yeah.

[02:38:33] **HOWARD:** Okay. Jack Hall?

[02:38:35] **LINCOLN:** I thought you were giving the name of the writer and I kind of thought—he's a newspaper man, who know Jack very well. It's a newspaper job. I mean, it's a—sort of skates over the surface. It does it very well. It's a fascinating book.

[02:38:54] **HOWARD:** Yeah, it's a really important—I mean, just reading from Larowe the intensity of that struggle over there was just incredible. It reminded me very much of the '34—

[02:39:02] **LINCOLN:** Well it—a liberation movement it really was because the sugar workers and pineapple workers in particular—well it was feudal. Almost a feudal system with the—it isn't a good word because it carries the wrong interpretation, but on a plantation the workers—well they were paid a miserably. And they were just completely under the control of the plantation owners and operators and lived and company houses and bought in company stores. They had a peasant mentality almost. So this was a revolution as far as they went. They were a big part of the structure of the islands, particularly in those days. Now of course it's become much more diversified. I think anybody would agree the union had an enormous impact on the sociology of the island. This book give some indication of that.

[02:40:15] **HOWARD:** I should take a look at that if I can.

[02:40:17] **LINCOLN:** There are other books but they—none of them that really, I think, have done the job that ought to be done.

[02:40:26] **HOWARD:** Maybe that's a future book. [laughter] How about ethnic or religious cleavages within the union? Did Catholics play any role?

[02:40:35] **LINCOLN:** Go outside of the union. You'll see [inaudible] . Otherwise not, as far as I know.

[02:40:41] **HOWARD:** Okay. And I suppose the same is true with ethnicity. It's much more of a factor on the East Coast apparently, with the Irish and the Italian groups.

[02:40:49] **LINCOLN:** Yeah well I think the—there's been some problem about the emerging Chicano and Latins in Los Angeles harbor. I don't know whether they're the majority in the local now or not, but they had a struggle getting in leadership positions. And they're—this a pretty broad generalization which I can't support—I think they're strictly opportunistic characters that I never heard of having any kind of ideological beliefs. I don't think they do.

[02:41:28] **HOWARD:** I have to talk to some people down there. I should do that.

[02:41:30] **LINCOLN:** But that's the only place where there's an organized group of an ethnic sort just because I don't know—

[02:41:39] **HOWARD:** It's in the L.A. area.

[02:41:40] **LINCOLN:** Yeah.

[02:41:41] **HOWARD:** Okay.

[02:41:42] **LINCOLN:** The Northwest is still a long tradition of Scandinavians, many of whom came over here on vessels. You know as I was saying earlier, they worked the shore and they worked on the ships. They were the core of the union for a long time. I suppose they still are to a degree. I don't know how much. Here of course the Blacks constitute a group. But outside of them and the Latins in Los Angeles, I don't think there's any particular grouping of the sort you're thinking of.

[02:42:25] **HOWARD:** Okay. And finally, generational cleavages within the union. My hunch is—

[02:42:30] **LINCOLN:** Young and old?

[02:42:31] **HOWARD:** That, and mostly—what I'm thinking of is that the people that participated in the union between '34 and '37 constituted a distinct generation almost, and my guess is that they were the most loyal to Bridges. Is that—

[02:42:42] **LINCOLN:** Mm-hmm. That's very true.

[02:42:43] **HOWARD:** That is true.

[02:42:44] **LINCOLN:** Oh yeah.

[02:42:45] **HOWARD:** And then people coming in a little later, or perhaps a little earlier were less likely to be supportive of Bridges. Is that a basis to that?

[02:42:53] **LINCOLN:** Yeah. They didn't have the background which would lead them to be so much. They came in under good conditions and that's just the way things were.

[02:43:03] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[02:43:03] **LINCOLN:** They didn't have to fight for them to the same degree. And then as I think my book makes out the M&M plan caused some problems between the young and old.

[02:43:17] **HOWARD:** Yeah, I've realized that.

[02:43:21] **LINCOLN:** As of now, there aren't many of the old timers left. I mean the real old timers. Even the guys that the big group that came in after—during the war, and a large part of those are now off on their term. There's a problem of retirees against the active members. It's true of any union. The ratio gradually getting to the point where, I don't know what it is now, maybe a third of the membership are retired. It's a big percentage.

[02:43:55] **HOWARD:** Wow, that's a huge.

[02:43:58] **LINCOLN:** A great many of them went off during this period by virtue of the benefits they got. So there aren't many of those left. And a lot of the younger guys felt that the benefits that the older guys got were at their expense.

[02:44:14] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[02:44:14] **LINCOLN:** They might have had better wage increases if so much money hadn't gone into the fund. And it may be true. The figures sort of suggest it.

[02:44:24] **HOWARD:** Mm-hmm.

Okay, I have one final question. If you can answer this, you can write my paper for me. [laughs] That's just basically any random thoughts you have about why the ILWU goes to the left and the ILA goes sharply to the right. That we haven't touched on.

[02:44:42] **LINCOLN:** I attribute a lot of that to Bridges himself. I was brought up and began thinking about these sort of things and thought the great man theory was pretty—a lot of nonsense. But I'm coming around to it.

[02:45:01] **HOWARD:** Yeah, I know! [laughs]

[02:45:02] **LINCOLN:** Individuals do have an enormous impact. Without any question Bridges has had a dominating influence in the union. His way of thinking has carried over to the establishment of waterfront institutions. The ILWU is the product of leadership and the particular institutions, the hiring hall and the joint registration. Those things together account for the union, I think. In what proportions and how much Harry was responsible for the demand to have a hiring hall, I don't know. I think he simply picked up what was pretty obvious to the guys at the time. They had to do something to get around this casual position. The two go together, inseparably in my mind.

[02:46:11] **HOWARD:** Generally, I think I've been moving in the same direction. As a sociologist, I've been looking for underlying structural features that could explain this difference, and the more I read it, the more it looks like it's Bridges and Ryan, their idiosyncrasies and their strengths and weaknesses. I think it's a large part of the picture. I don't think it's a complete picture, is my guess, but it's certainly major.

[02:46:31] **LINCOLN:** Certainly. I don't know about Ryan, I don't know how much he had to do with the leadership on the East Coast. But I guess that's not what you mean. What you mean is the way went here in '34.

[02:46:45] **HOWARD:** Yeah.

[02:46:48] **LINCOLN:** Well the guys say Ryan's position as essentially a sellout. [pause] But there were a lot of people around Bridges who were influential in local areas. He had a big influence over them. [chuckle] He also used to do the most ruthless things [laugh] that would turn off a large number of people.

[02:47:28] **HOWARD:** Really? [huff of breath] Well, he probably wouldn't have stayed about as long as he had if he hadn't been. But it seems to very affective at sort of taking charge of an organization, he'd have to be.

Okay, I guess that's about all the questions I have. Certainly plenty. I really appreciate the chance to talk to you.

[02:47:50] **LINCOLN:** I think I mentioned to you that I—testimony of the unions with regard to the East Coast situation. Why the two were different. Why the union, our union, had avoided the New York situation, I guess that's what it was about. I think that's, of the things I mentioned, probably one of the key things you ought to look at.

[02:48:16] **HOWARD:** Ok.

[02:48:17] **LINCOLN:** But treat it as propaganda. I mean, you know.

[02:48:20] **HOWARD:** Yeah, sure. [laughs]

[02:48:22] **LINCOLN:** [laughs] It's not the answer. It's what the union was saying.

[02:48:26] **HOWARD:** Ok, I'll take a look at that—

[02:48:29] **LINCOLN:** And if you can find anything of Charlie Belson's reports, they should be helpful. But I suspect not. Because they dealt, I'm sure, with individuals. Who you could deal with and who you couldn't. Who among the employers was playing the same game as the union was and that sort of thing. Which would be fascinating if you could get ahold of it, but I doubt if it was written down. [laughs]

[02:48:57] **HOWARD:** Probably not. It doesn't sound like it would be!

Are there any names of individuals that you could recommend for interviews, other than the people that you've mentioned already?

[02:49:11] **LINCOLN:** [pause while thinking] I don't think so.

[02:49:13] **HOWARD:** Ok.

[02:49:15] **LINCOLN:** You could see Harry Hines, [Sam] Kagel [inaudible] Gerry Buckle, [Henry] Schmidt, [Bernie Jenson?] on the East Coast.

[02:49:25] **HOWARD:** Uh-huh.

[02:49:26] **LINCOLN:** He was the only ac—well there was a young guy who wrote an article. I say a young guy, I think he was a guy, I think he was a young associate professor. Wrote an article comparing the approach of the ILA and the ILWU in their organization.

[02:49:41] **HOWARD:** Ross. Arthur Ross. Or Phillip Ross, something like that?

[02:49:43] **LINCOLN:** Phillip Ross. I never knew him, but I was impressed with his articles. He had two articles and I was impressed with them.

[02:49:49] **HOWARD:** I've read one of them. In Monthly Review or Monthly Labor Review I guess it what it is. Something in Labor Law Journal.

[02:49:59] **LINCOLN:** Labor Law Journal. Anyhow I thought they were very good.

[02:50:04] **HOWARD:** And Goldberg? Do you know him?

[02:50:06] **LINCOLN:** Yeah.

[02:50:06] **HOWARD:** [?Arthur Goldberg?] . He's written a couple of things. One comparing it to—

[02:50:14] **LINCOLN:** He wrote a book on, oh, mechanization and the maritime unions.

[02:50:15] **HOWARD:** Oh he wrote a whole book on it?

[02:50:16] **LINCOLN:** A whole book. Not limited to ours. Well it was before. [inaudible] But it has to do with [?Ian Finchman?] with mechanization of all the maritime trades.

[02:50:30] **HOWARD:** I should take a look at that.

[02:50:32] **LINCOLN:** He's at the Labor Department. He's an assistant to the Secretary, or was. Whether he's still there. . .

He wrote a very nice review of my book. It's the only one I've seen anywhere.

[02:50:46] **HOWARD:** OK.

[02:50:46] **LINCOLN:** I've been annoyed, some of the people who were so enthusiastic and interested about mechanization plan at the time haven't paid any attention to it as far as I can tell.

[02:50:57] **HOWARD:** I'm surprised because it's the definitive work as far as maritime mechanization goes. Plus with your experience as a research director it's invaluable. You brought on some really excellent sources.

[02:51:10] **LINCOLN:** Oh and Larrowe.

[02:51:12] **HOWARD:** Is that how you pronounce his name? La-roo?

[02:51:13] **LINCOLN:** La-roo.

[02:51:14] **HOWARD:** Ok, I've been wrong.

[02:51:15] **LINCOLN:** You know he spoke about hiring?

[02:51:18] **HOWARD:** Shape-up and Hiring Hall. I've got that. He wrote one on the Great Lakes, which I've got also. And, it's just a small monograph. And of course, there's Harry Bridges.

[02:51:28] **LICOLN:** He was at Yale and he got interested in the New York waterfront. Learned what he learned about the shape up. Then he came to the University of Washington, got involved studying the hiring hall there. He became an enthusiast for the ILWU. So he took a year off, a sabbatical year. And he worked here principally worked in the library, our library, which is the origin for his book about Bridges. I mean the origin in the sense that it's where he got his material.

His digging. . . [inaudible] .

[02:52:08] **HOWARD:** Is he at Michigan? University of Michigan?

[02:52:22] **LINCOLN:** Yeah, Michigan State.

[02:52:23] **HOWARD:** Oh, Michigan State.

[02:52:25] **LINCOLN:** Yeah.

[02:52:25] **HOWARD:** What department is he in?

[02:52:26] **LINCOLN:** Economics.

[02:52:27] **HOWARD:** Economics, ok. I should definitely consult him, there's no question about it.

Ok, I guess that's it. Thanks very much.

[02:52:34] **LINCOLN:** You haven't seen anything—

[break in the recording of the interview]

—60-73. It was a forerunner of the contract changes that were made in the East Coast on mechanization. But it's a port-by-port study of the situation in the ports in terms of, well in terms of how to avoid long strikes which they had primarily.

[02:52:58] **HOWARD:** That's a BLS publication?

Yeah, uh-huh. It's a series, a series of publications. One on New York, there are others on Philadelphia, [inaudible] , Boston, New Orleans.

Oh I think I may have. . .yeah, I've got that written down somewhere. Do you know about what year that came out?

[02:53:10] **LINCOLN:** It's here.

[02:53:11] **HOWARD:** Oh it's here?

[02:53:12] **LINCOLN:** We have it in our library. I don't think it would be anything direct perhaps but it's one of the few things, a solid kind of job about the East Coast. Not limited to New York but I guess that's your interest.

[02:53:31] **HOWARD:** Yeah, right. Any advice you'd care to give me? [laughs]

[02:53:39] **LINCOLN:** [laughs] No I guess not.

[02:53:47] **HOWARD:** Alright. Well, again, thanks very much.

[END PART SIX]